The Commonweal

A Weekly Review of Literature, The Arts and Public Affairs

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THE SEARCH FOR PEACE

"IF CIVILIZATION is to survive," President Roosevelt declared, in his speech at Chicago, "the principles of the Prince of Peace must be restored."

Those principles are an expression of the fundamental law of charity, the charity that is rooted in justice, particularly social justice, the charity that is humble and unselfish, the charity that is patient and persevering, the charity which teaches us to see in our neighbor our brethren in Christ.

Mr. Roosevelt directed attention to the flagrant disregard of Christian principles in international affairs by citing the violations, in recent years, of the covenant of the League of Nations, the Briand-Kellogg pact and the nine-power treaty. Nations have invaded alien territory. Civilians, including men and women, are being subjected to merciless bombardment from the air. Merchant ships are being attacked and sunk by submarines without cause or notice.

"Innocent people and nations," he asserted, "are being cruelly sacrificed to a greed for power and supremacy which is devoid of all sense of justice and humane consideration."

We agree in principle with the President's statement that "the peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort in opposition to those violations of treaties and those ignorings of humane instincts which today are creating a state of international anarchy and instability from which there is no escape through mere isolation or neutrality."

Our primary concern, however, must be with the causes of the contemporary anarchy. We want to know why the civilized races are apparently losing the courage to live. We want to know why people everywhere are oppressed by a haunting fear of calamity. The moral responsibility of individuals and nations for the present crisis is very heavy indeed; but here we wish to say a few words about those economic factors that must be taken

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into consideration in any worth-while search for world peace.

We are told by such distinguished experts as Sir George Paish that the internal position of most nations is extremely serious. Already in 1931 Japan, for example, was in distress. The conquest of Manchuria may have temporarily strengthened the morale of the people; but conquest and subsequent exploitation are always costly. The present act of aggression will depress still further the standard of living of the average Japanese worker. Such merciless grinding down of a people can yield but one result—disaster.

The conquest of Abyssinia is likewise attributed to great distress at home. Italy's income had shown a great decline. Exports were down to a small figure. The tourist trade had slumped. There were few remittances from Italians residing in other countries. Furthermore, internal discontent endangered Mussolini's own position—hence a war to whip up the loyalty of the Italian people to Fascist ideals.

Germany today is short of food, desperately in need of raw materials. Will Hitler go to war to forestall revolution?

Japan, Italy and Germany are usually referred to as the "have not" nations. Practically every government in the world, however, is living far beyond its income. During the past year the nations collectively have created upward of $10,000,000,000 of government credit in order to give purchasing power to their people. Gold is the first and credit the second reserve of a nation. At the present time the gold reserves of the greater part of the world are almost exhausted. When credit reserves come to an end, and they seem likely to come to an end at any time, nothing short of a major world catastrophe is to be expected.

The last World Economic Conference expressed the conviction that the cause of the world's troubles, the difficulties which the powers have in balancing their budgets, the vast amount of unemployment and the enormous reduction in the value of foreign trade was due, in large measure, to the world's policy of self-sufficiency. The conference strongly urged that the nations adopt a new policy by which the obstacles to trade could be removed. At the same time, it issued the grave warning that if the nations continued their policies of national self-sufficiency, the international financial system would be shaken to its foundations and the standard of life would be so greatly reduced that the present social order could not be maintained.

We have given very thoughtful consideration to the demands of various individuals and organizations that the neutrality law be invoked immediately, ignoring altogether the moral factors of right and wrong, justice and injustice, involved in the undeclared war in the Far East.

Congressman Louis Ludlow of Indiana, addressing a recent convention of the National Council for the Prevention of War in Washington, characterized America's position in the world today as "ostrich-like." Mr. Ludlow emphasized the fact that "the unconscionable war Japan is waging in China is being provisioned and financed to a considerable extent from America. Thus there is being woven an intricate web of trade and finance that must sooner or later be a powerful influence toward sucking us into war. It is heart-sickening to hear high officials in Washington say that nothing should be done to interfere with our profitable trade in the Far East. What nonsense! Trade is not always an asset. Sometimes it is a curse and it will be an awful curse if it drags us into another horrible war."

It is with great reluctance that we express an opinion at variance with that held by Mr. Ludlow. For our part, we are convinced that America should make its contribution to the solution of world problems and play its part in preserving the world from the terrible dangers that are threatened.

Does this mean war? We do not think so. The President's declaration aligned the United States with the League of Nations in condemning Japan as an aggressor. Our government will participate in the consultation provided for in the nine-power treaty, the treaty of Washington, of which we are one of the original signatories, with a view to ending by agreement the conflict between China and Japan.

Under Mr. Roosevelt's courageous and far-sighted leadership, the peace-loving nations will attempt to end the Far Eastern conflict by pacific means, by the employment of moral forces, not by threats of violence which, in our judgment, would bring not only the United States but all nations one step closer to the abyss. In his Chicago speech and in his most recent fireside chat, Mr. Roosevelt truly expressed the sentiments of the American people when he asserted that "America hates war. America hopes for peace. Therefore America actively engages in the search for peace."

The United States has definitely abandoned its post-war policy of isolation. Mr. Roosevelt is fully aware of the dangers inherent in the new policy. The vast majority of our people will, we believe, affirm his ambition that our great democracy "be wise enough to realize that aloofness from war is not promoted by unawareness of war. In a world of mutual suspicions, peace must be affirmatively reached for. It cannot just be wished for. It cannot just be waited for."

The most intensive kind of joint and several effort should be made to rid the world of the fear of starvation, the fear of bankruptcy, and the fear of war, both civil and international.

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Week by Week

THE HIGH cost of living is now engaging the attention of the vast majority of our citizens. The problem, in our opinion, has three important phases. Retail food prices, during the past five years, have advanced one-third. Even in families where there is no unemployment problem, housewives are having difficulty in balancing the budget. But what about the unemployed? It has been reported that New York City appropriated more money for home relief for the quarter ending December 31 than was spent in any three-month period since the federal government assumed responsibility for work relief two years ago. The relief rolls, we are informed, declined by 14.8 percent but mounting living costs were cited by relief officials in explaining why expenditures had gone up while the relief population went down. In a recent Hyde Park press conference, President Roosevelt indicated that crop control and wages and hours legislation would receive immediate attention when Congress convenes on November 15. No one can predict what effect this legislation, if enacted, will have upon the family budget or what additional burdens it may place upon all relief agencies. Finally, our foreign policy must be taken into consideration. What would be the effect, for example, of a trade agreement with Great Britain that would bring substantial reductions in world tariffs? To how great an extent would an economic boycott against Japan injure American industry and agriculture? In a discussion of national affairs, particularly in the economic field, we cannot ignore the rest of the world.

The Trend of Events

ADDRESSING the Third National Catechetical Congress of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine in St. Louis, the Apostolic Delegate to the United States declared that the necessity for intensifying the teaching mission of the Church has never been felt "so urgently and impellingly as in our day." It is difficult to estimate the number of people who have no church affiliation and give religion but little thought. The number, however, is large, so rapidly is paganization of life increasing. Something must be done, and done speedily, to bring a knowledge of Christianity to those who are so desperately in need of a sound and sane philosophy of living. His Excellency also emphasized the fact that out of 12,776 parishes in the United States, 7,445 have parochial schools. This great achievement, he declared, "encourages the best-grounded hopes that the number is still to increase, to the great benefit of our youth and to the edification of Christian nations." Members of the Confraternity may well feel proud of the splendid results of their unselfish apostolate in the cause of spiritual literacy. Every member of the laity should participate in this great movement or in some similar effort to prepare worthy citizens "for their earthly and heavenly country."

The Teaching Mission

DURING the Wilson period before the war, important reformers asserted that after a certain stage bigness in a business was bad through its sheer size, without regard (or in addition to regard) for the methods and practises of the business. This contention, supported so ably by Woodrow Wilson and Louis Brandeis, undoubtedly lost popularity during the following two decades, in spite of the fact that technological progress gave new arguments in its favor. In the stirring of critical analysis since 1929 we are sorry this line of criticism has not been more developed and popularized, because we feel there is great and constructive truth in it. Those who pursue it—distributists and such—merit well. An analogous attack can be made on bigness of personal incomes as such. The announcement in the paper that in 1935 there were forty-one incomes of more than $1,000,000 taxed by the Treasury (which means an absolute minimum) is a clear sign of an unhealthy condition. In a good society, it seems to us, not only are the means to make money restricted, but also the extent to which acceptable means are utilized. No decent station of life possibly requires anywhere near $1,000,000 in one year to support it. Long before they get that, wealthy men should cease acquiring and start distributing. The effect of applying such a simple principle of private morality would certainly be to reduce some of the social injustices which cry most loudly to heaven.

Bigness as Such

MISSION SUNDAY will be observed on October 24 when memberships in the Society for the Propagation of the Faith and collections for the support of home and foreign missions will be taken up in churches throughout the United States. Seventy-five years ago, Pauline Jaricot, foundress of the society, began her mission labor by collecting pennies from her intimate friends and asking them to say daily a prayer for missionaries. At a time when approximately ten billions a year are being spent in war preparations and statesmen are desperately trying to find an antidote for the prevailing world anarchy, it seems to us that in generously aiding the consecrated disciples of the Prince of Peace, in a temporal and spiritual way, both here and abroad, we will be making a most necessary and effective contribution to the preservation of those Christian ideals and principles without which our civiliza-

Mission Sunday

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tion cannot survive. It is the duty of the clergy to keep alight in our distracted world the torch of faith. It is likewise the duty of the laity to aid and cooperate in that vitally necessary task by every means in our power.

Railroad Relations

THE POOR old railroads are no longer considered a very pioneering sector on the American front. They have proved themselves, however, by no means dead, and good administrators continue to have huge opportunity in their vast realm. Speed, efficiency, and, for passengers, comfort are still being increased on all railroads. The whole field of labor relations lies open to their unions and management and also the government. The recent settlement of the wage issue in the industry is a hopeful accomplishment. The railroads may well worry about the $130,000,000 addition to their annual operating costs, but there are offsetting considerations—besides the expectation of tariff and fare rises. More than 3,000 special agreements govern the relationship of railroad labor and the 859 carriers covered by the Railway Labor law. There is a better chance now than ever before that a rational method of adjusting and enforcing these detail agreements will prevail. During the general negotiations since August both sides claim to have learned and taught much about the problems of railroad economy and industrial conduct. Both sides apparently are more conscious of the unity between their industrial interests, while the disparity of their class interests is being regulated with relative peaceableness and cooperation. It would be wild to claim that a vocational group is being formed for railway transportation, but it would be pessimistic not to believe, on the basis of the news, that the railroad industry is furnishing a hopeful example in settling the differences within itself and working toward a diffusion among its personnel of knowledge of, and interest in, and even some responsibility in the conduct of its industrial policy.

Two Names and Three Virtues

STIRRED by the thickening perils which beset civilization, the vigorous president of Columbia University has exerted himself to perform the duties of clarification and warning. These utterances, almost a series of lay encyclicals, will naturally provide a wide variety of reactions. We, for instance, who suspect all tyrannies alike, wonder by what secret and sure assaying process Dr. Butler knows that Fascism is a worse enemy of democracy than Communism. It is not to deny that Dr. Butler's prestige and his influence on opinion are great and deserved. Indeed, it is a prelude to saying that we wish these qualities would be felt more than we fear they will be, in the case of one of his recent speeches. In part no doubt because of his restricted audience, his definition and illustration of statesmanship, given before the Columbia Men's Faculty Club, received very modest reporting. He reminded his hearers that the current deadly vice in political thought throughout the world is emotionalism—that abandonment of self-restraint which turns people into mobs, that worship of the "superior force which knows nothing of reason, cares nothing for reason." Only two men in the world today, he asserted, have been strong enough to hold out against it by "greatness of personality, insight and human sympathy." Those two men are General Smuts and Pope Pius XI. The Catholic will accept this linking of a lesser figure with a greater for what it truly means—homage for what is constructive, benign and universal in social thinking. It is to be hoped that the thoughtful non-Catholic, whether he be Christian or not, will be struck either by the names or by the virtues designated, into doing some original thinking on either the one or the other. They will lead him far in the positive direction—further, perhaps, than he has ever gone before.

Courage: Pagan and Christian

WE HAVE said it before, but it will bear saying again, that the supreme difference between pagan and Christian is not that their sins are different, but that their virtues are different. The Christian, for example, uses courage in one way, the pagan in another. Both are courageous beyond controversy; but there is a dividing line between them that the soul cannot pass over until it has experienced some fundamental change. A few years ago, Japanese schoolboys implored the government not to execute certain assassins, on the ground that the official they had slain was an enemy of the country; and as an earnest of their own patriotic disinterestedness, they enclosed with their petition the forefingers which they, the signers, had amputated from their own hands. Now there comes from Nippon a crop of stories even more inhumanly and appallingly heroic. Men rejected for service take their lives that their souls may follow the army; wives kill themselves that their husbands at the front may have no distracting thoughts of love and home. No one can merely wave these things aside. In one sense they represent the very acme of discipline and devotion. That is part of their significance. For thus used, they do not attract, but repel; they do not widen the horizon of life, but contract it. The Christian hero rates his own being not as he wills but as he is commanded—at the value placed upon it by Christ. His is the discipline beyond that which bids a man to destroy himself; the discipline which bids him refrain. Yet literatures and civilizations attest that the Christian knows how and when to die.

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THEATRE DIVIDENDS

By EMMET LAVERY

MAYBE of course you think it a good thing that we have no Right Wing which we can call our own in the American theatre. Maybe you think the horizon is much too cluttered with a dismaying plentitude of strangely winged birds. Or perhaps you suffer a gentle ennui at the mere thought of being organized for one more cause, no matter how worthy it may be. If so, deponent can understand this pleasant indifference to group activity. There was a time when he too never identified himself with anything more collective than a tennis club. And when he had no use for fronts of any kind, political or literary.

At this point those who know deponent will conclude—correctly enough!—that he is creeping up on you with a bulletin regarding the National Catholic Theatre Conference, which is now regularly established with offices at the Catholic University, Washington. Well, he is. And already the Conference is projecting a simple association to advance rapidly the common standards of parish, college and workers' theatres.

But the real news in this Hollywood dispatch is concerned with certain developments in the contemporary theatre which may have escaped the attention of those who have a loathing for group activity in general and who cherish a special detestation for it in the theatre. This is, if you will, a success story—the story of how a Left Wing not only made a place for itself in the theatre and in American life but made it pay dividends as well.

You remember of course when we used to laugh at the idea of a Left Wing in the theatre, of all places? Remember when it was a radical thing for a manager in New York to consider offering a Leftist play that was at all communistic in character? Well, the wheel turns, and turns faster than we realize. It turns so rapidly in fact that it would be a rather radical step for any New York manager today to consider offering a Leftist play that is at all Catholic or anti-Communist! And if you doubt it, just ask the next theatre manager or the next producer whom you meet.

From being a mere voice of protest in the theatre, a small but aggressive minority, our brothers on the Left by dint of hard work and courageous propaganda have raised themselves to a dominant position. And yet they are still a minority group! The answer is simple. They are good salesmen and shrewd showmen. And they have so colored our theatre perspective by their persistent energy that they have very nearly won the day. This does not mean that they have convinced American theatregoers. But they have impressed them, by virtue of an exciting solidarity, and they have even made it fashionable to be a Leftist. Not only fashionable but positively intellectual. Oh, definitely!

And nowhere is this more apparent than in Hollywood, where normally you might expect the entrenched capital of the film studios would look with suspicious eye on the proletarians of the Left. True, the screen is no more ready than the stage to give free reign to the particular gospels of these craftsmen. But it finds a place for these craftsmen—first, because they are usually good craftsmen in the theatre, for they know their job; second, because they are one of the best advertised groups in the world. And producers like to do business with people who are well known.

Of course the task of the Left Wing in Hollywood was a little easier than it was in New York, for remember the Left Wing has a culture to sell. And if there is one thing that is easier to sell in Hollywood than anything else—even more so than a new religion—it is a new culture. The town is both long on and short of culture at one and the same time, so when someone first spread the rumor that the Left Wingers had culture, the stampede began.

Hollywood, it should be no secret by now, has a weakness for public causes, public parades, public meetings. Even a fellow with two extra swimming pools feels he ought to take up a good cause now and then just to keep in step with things. And so when there are any "keys of the city" to be given away at five-dollar-a-plate luncheons at the Vendome, it is usually the Left Wing which is in the limelight. Sometimes it is a very special foreign film. Sometimes it is a a very special lecture by a special proletarian from the Continent. But always the air is thick with culture. And those who don't emerge cultured at least come out impressed.

Funny? Not at all. It seems that the Left Wing, which is not noted for its humor, took seriously the remark of an early pilgrim who fell in love with Hollywood. "Ah, what a lovely city," he is reported to have murmured, as he scanned the names of the literati who are inevitably drawn here by you-know-what. "Surely with so many great minds here, you have another Athens in the making."

Of course the pilgrim was wrong. Hollywood is no Athens. Not yet anyway. But the Left Wing is trying hard to make good on that vision. In a small way maybe, but colossal just the same! And prosperity hasn't hurt the Left Wing the least bit.

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For instance, the pleasant opulence of the Left Wing is the strongest assurance a New York manager could want that there really must have been a public for all those Leftist plays he may have turned down. He used to have doubts about it, to be sure. He used to wonder if the public was as large as the Left Wing shouted it was. But here is the proof positive: somebody likes the Left Wing well enough to pay it big money. And in the theatre money talks—and talks big! So too the success of the Left Wing has a pleasant effect on the struggling dramatists who write on the Leftist front. They look up weary from their labors and they see gold in those hills. And they go back to their jobs with redoubled energy. Nothing succeeds like success, even for a Left Winger!

True, not all Hollywood or New York producers like the Left Wing in their heart of hearts. But they feel it is a force to be reckoned with. Not something to take too seriously maybe but no people to get frisky with.

And so rapidly has the Left Wing pyramided itself to a position of power that *New Theatre and Film* can tell Daryl Zannuck just how he should make a film on the siege of the Alcazar, if he dares to make it. The same magazine even presumes to tell Hallie Flanagan in a recent issue just how she should run the Federal Theatre. Indeed this particular magazine evinces so complete a proprietary and almost vested interest in the Federal Theatre, that on occasion it literally attempts to warn the government what it can and cannot do with a people's theatre. Yet it is as much our theatre as it is theirs. Or is it?

Your correspondent need hardly dwell on the boycott which the New Theatre League was able to organize against so harmless a play as "Tide Rising," during its run last season in New York. And we should all be familiar by now with the successful touring groups of the New Theatre League which have been going up and down the country for several years with a repertoire of vigorous plays, well done and well received. Perhaps the most convincing evidence of the complete success of the Left Wing is the action of Walter Wanger in taking over the Group Theatre bodily for pictures. True, the Group Theatre earned that success but remember its success on stage and screen was not limited by the fact that it was a very special group with a very special outlook. Yet no more special than our own.

Which ought to prove something about the value of collective action and the value of a special point of view, especially when it is linked up with a fine professional competence. Which ought to raise a few questions for us laggards on the Right. What were we doing while all this was going on? Oh, there were many who were achieving individual recognition in the arts. But did we come down from our ivory towers and join hands in any collective effort of our own? No, we wrote letters or articles, made our individual peace with Heaven and thanked God we didn't have to be bothered with organizing writers or dramatists!

And so we surrendered the most publicized field of all the arts, the theatre, to a group which had a positive genius for publicity. And with this result: there are Catholics in pictures and in the theatre today who are loathe to admit their lively interest in Catholic culture. They are afraid not because there will be any religious discrimination against them. They are afraid of being thought a little quaint or special in their interests. And why might they be thought quaint or special? For the reason that there is no group behind them giving them the intellectual and public support which all craftsmen on the Left enjoy from the Left Wing.

Your Leftist glories in his culture. And glorying in it, he makes it pay dividends for him. But we shrink behind ours. We live as it were behind a Chinese wall, the same kind of Chinese wall that surrounds the average parish in this country and cuts it off from every contact with any other parish. We pride ourselves on our individuality but the truth is that we become defeatists rather than individualists. We become sceptical of the value of any action whatsoever. We have developed a bad inferiority complex. We have become an inactive fringe on the circle of literary life in this country.

Ironical? Quite. But there is even a deeper irony, for in the very nature of things New York or Hollywood should have been much more eager to accept a Right Wing than a Left Wing, if only there had been a Right Wing to give collective voice to our culture. Obviously it would have required far less courage for the theatre and film moguls to give shelter to the Right Wing, for the emphasis of the Right Wing is spiritual and that of the Left is political and economic. Potentially therefore the Left Wing was much more a threat to the security of Hollywood and Broadway than the Right Wing. But there was no Right Wing. And so the Left Wing won its spurs.

Is it too late for the Right Wing? Deponent hopes not. Deponent believes not. True, there are certain dominant racial traits which will always make for solidarity on the Left and which will retard unity on the Right. But there is a great need for a Right Wing theatre, even among people who are not Catholic, and we must meet that need with prompt and vigorous collective action. And once we unite our efforts, we project a theatre on a scale more vast than any the Left Wing can ever hope to achieve.

All we have to do is to look around us—and begin there. We don't need a Broadway theatre

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with a Broadway budget. We begin simply with the parish, the college and the workers' theatres which are already at hand. We began, if you will, at Chicago in June, and at Washington in August, when we launched the Catholic Theatre Conference.

Ah, people will say, but you need courage. True, we need courage but the theatre has always been rich in courage. And never was this more forcibly brought home to me than it was recently at dinner in Hollywood with Rene Fulop-Miller. "The main trouble with the films is," Fulop-Miller observed sagely, "that you cant expect a man with a million dollars to be very courageous. Cautious maybe but not courageous!"

Well, we haven't the million. But we have something else. Courage, gentlemen! That whirring noise in the sky is the Right Wing taking off.

MASARYK

By GEORGE N. SHUSTER

WE HAVE just been the witnesses of an extraordinary event. A million persons gathered from near and far to honor the memory of Thomas Masaryk, first President of the Czechoslovakian Republic; and in all that immense crowd, lined for miles along the streets of Prague, one thing came to life—a most impressive silence, like that Carlyle desired for his heroes, a silence born out of deep affection and instinctive reverence. So accustomed has one become to the pageantry of dictatorships that this spontaneous funeral feast of a democracy almost seemed part of a dream. It is difficult to find words for all of it, and yet words of some sort are necessary.

The name of Woodrow Wilson is written across the façade of modern Prague. There are monuments to him, buildings have been erected in his name, his portrait is to be found in literally hundreds of places. From the beginning of this republic, no one has ever doubted that it was the most substantial of all the ends achieved by America's war-time President. On this occasion, however, one thought rather of George Washington. The citizenry of a young United States must have responded in just such a way to the news that the "father of his country" was dead. I should like to stress this note first of all. Feeling for Masaryk went astonishingly deep. The very simplest houses and shops went to such expense as they could afford for flags and mementoes, not because these were dictated from on high but simply because people wanted to do something.

To those who know Prague, it is unnecessary to say that the city is perhaps more than other continental towns save Paris and Rome a drama in stone. Each of its romantic hills is the memorial of some conflict. On the same Karlsbruecke are statues of King Wenseslas and the saint whom he slew for having refused to violate the confessional seal. Nowhere else did the tide of Jesuit effort to regain Europe for the Church rise higher than here, over stones soaked with the blood of Huss and his friends. The ghosts of Wallenstein and of Hapsburg emperors still seem locked in conflict. It is a city and a country of many saints, and yet also of fierce and sometimes successful Protestants. And finally there exist here side by side profoundly rooted democratic instincts and almost feudal traditions.

Through all this the funeral procession went on. Far up on the famed quadrangle of the Hradcany, an immense bier supported the mortal remains of the nation's grand old man; and the image of the Virgin (Brokoff's strangely fascinating masterpiece) loomed above masses of black flags. Thence the funeral cortege would move, after the bells of the cathedral had tolled and the words of the funeral orator had been spoken. All through the night simple folk from Slovakian and Moravian towns had waited in the shadow of funereal banners draped nearly everywhere. And now they saw a pageant of stark military simplicity. The coffin had been placed on a caisson escorted by simple soldiers. Behind it walked the officers of the Czech army, and in particular the columns of Legionnaires whom Masaryk had organized to fight on every Allied front. The cortege crossed the bridge, moved on to the Town Hall, arrived slowly at the densely thronged Wenceslas Square, and finally came to the Wilson Station where the body would be received for carriage to the appointed burial place.

These were the outward circumstances. Yet strange and striking though they were, one's mind was constantly distracted from them to the spirit which stirred beneath. Nationalism had celebrated still another of its triumphs. This time it was on the whole a clarified and beneficent nationalism, feeling itself identical with the best aspirations of humanity and free of all aggressive ambition. Nevertheless? I shall attempt here no evaluation of the Czech Republic. It may not always have been a model instance of regard for varying rights. Surely one may say that on the whole the trend of development has been sound. Today there is far less dissension than ever before since 1918. Minorities have been placated.

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Relations with other states are now governed by a rule of decent realism. Czechoslovakia is an imperiled state, but it is not tense or cramped. That is an achievement of which every one of its citizens may be proud.

What I mean by the question can be best conveyed, perhaps, by quoting a distinguished non-Catholic thinker who summarized for me the career of Masaryk. "The real misfortune," he said, "was that this great philosopher and democrat separated himself from the Catholic Church." He was of course not basing this remark on personal considerations. What he meant was that out of hostility to the Hapsburgs Masaryk was led to stamp his democratic adventure with the label of dissension. Though his people remain an overwhelmingly Catholic people, his republic at the beginning all but dedicated itself to John Huss. Thus the chance was lost to build a new democracy soundly within the Christian Catholic traditions, where its outlook would have rested on permanent foundations of instinct and law. Masaryk remained a genuinely idealistic thinker, governed by religious desire. No other modern philosopher has defended more ardently the concept of immortality. But the rift between his political ideals and the Church has never been healed.

Possibly when we speak of nationalism today it is this we mean. Perhaps during times that are gone it may have been difficult to find support for reputable and necessary efforts to obtain freedom in ecclesiastical groups too subservient to older states. It may well be that what all of us so deplore in modern history—the divorcement of government from principles universally binding, and therewith the growth of theories that the state's ends are their own sufficient justification—is rooted in the fateful blindness of the early nineteenth century; but there was no reason why Masaryk could not have divorced himself from that blindness. He could easily have made his country what it really and truly is in all but name—a Catholic democracy. The effect would have been incalculable. For nothing could be more calamitous than the utterly false assumption that either Rome or the Catholic Church is in some way favorable to dictatorship as a principle of government.

This funeral was therefore a nationalist feast. Once more emphasis was laid on the fact that in our time love of country can arouse emotions no other affection can. The faithful still go by tens of thousands to places of pilgrimage. On Sundays throughout the world millions kneel at Mass. Nevertheless this funeral, and other events like it, have really acquired a religious significance of unparalleled vigor. Why should it be so? It is a great and complex problem, compounded of heresy and righteousness. Here is secularized religious feeling, which Professor Hayes has described so admirably. But at least in our time there is something else, too. Perhaps it is the fruit of a widespread hunger for justice, especially social and cultural justice. Perhaps men and women the world over have been led to believe that the state alone is the form which this longing for justice can take. Perhaps all rests upon the conviction, enkindled hundreds of years ago, that government can really be "of the people, for the people and by the people."

Much is to be said for that point of view. We sometimes talk as if the State were not what it has perennially been in Christian tradition: the sovereign, divinely appointed form ordained to have its place forevermore beside the Church. The State ought really to satisfy men's hunger for justice. Yet it can do so only if this hunger is not too great, is not based upon lust of conquest, is not purely greed for the here and now. That Masaryk realized well when he said that his country was to belong not to Caesar but to Christ. That is what Queen Wilhelmina means when she dedicated her land anew to the spirit of "positive Christianity." That is what my friend meant when he deplored the act of scission which in the beginning sundered the Czechoslovakian Republic from Catholic tradition.

We shall have to think these things out. Our future depends less upon what we do than upon what we decide to do. There can be no question of "saving religion" in the abstract. It must grow as people grow, painfully and laboriously toward a realization of objectives which none of us can disavow because they are written on our hearts. Some such response I made to my friend, as the dark flags of this great funereal festival waved above us and the crowds stood reverently by, as if they were in some cathedral nave.

Amity

"I do not write for the public. You are my public. . . . You say you would not for any amount of money read my poem again, nevertheless I beg you will. Beside money, you know there is love" (Letter from Gerard Manley Hopkins to Robert Bridges).

Oh lovely poet, masking 'neath the grey
Oblivion of sanctity the gay
Wild heart, Elizabeth's fair day
Gave to her bards, forth from your pious cell
Thrice girdling the globe like Ariel
Your lightning spirit forks, returns to tell
Of "dappled dawns," and "sounds that rinse and wring
The ear, sea-swell, and hail's sharp-sided sting."
And while your heart remains too pure for praise
There comes a letter saying, "in the days
To follow men will hear your voice," and begs
Your verses for posterity. The dregs
Of life are sweetened, knowing that the end
Of your soul's music rests now with your friend.

DOROTHY TAYLOR.

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THE PARIS PASSION PLAY

By BARBARA BARCLAY CARTER

DURING a good part of the month of August this year for the third time the fifteenth-century Passion Play by Arnoul Gréban, "La Vraye Mystère de la Passion," was acted nightly to an audience of 12,000 in front of Notre Dame de Paris. The names of those who gave their active cooperation, ranging from the President of the republic, government and municipal authorities, famous theatre managers, to the Prefect of the Police and the Garde Républicaine on the one hand, and from Cardinal Verdier to the Catholic Scouts and l'Abbé Maillet's incomparable singing boys, Les Petits Chanteurs à la Croix de Bois, on the other, show the distance traversed since the days of the *Loi Combes,* when militant anticlericalism saturated the public life of France.

Today anticlericalism is of the past. Or rather, it persists, like so many outmoded fashions, among the semi-educated only. Its counterpart, clericalism, has long been on the wane. The condemnation by the present Pope of the Action Française, the royalist movement which, seeking to revive the old alliance of the Throne and the Altar, holds the republic anathema, and sees in religion an instrument of government, left the field free for Catholics prepared to cooperate loyally with all men of good-will and to put Christian justice before party.

The increasing strength of the Catholic Social movement, with its trade unions, its press, its political and social organizations, has brought a change of heart in many who once identified religion with reaction. Thus Léon Blum in an interview with *Sept* (the Dominican weekly which recently ceased publication) could look forward to Catholic cooperation on the basis of the great social encyclical, "Rerum Novarum," the Charter of the Workingman. Thus, too, the aspirations and labors of Catholic organizations and clergy have at last borne fruit in a government bill to put an end to legalized vice. And thus Cardinal Pacelli, as Papal Legate to the National Eucharistic Congress, received from the Popular Front government a reception that has been the lot of no papal representative in the present century.

At the same time there has been a deepening of religious life. In Paris at every Mass the churches are crowded; it is the one great city where the congregations consist of as many men as women, and the majority are young. The number of Catholic thinkers and writers of the first rank, such as Blondel, Gilson, Maritain, Mauriac, Claudel (to mention only the most outstanding), has meant a new permeation of intellectual life with Christian traditions, the influence of which is apparent even among writers who do not wholly come within their orbit. Till recently the workers had remained the class most alien to religious influence. Now the *Jociste* youth movement, the "apostolate of the workers by the workers," in a spirit of gay conquest, is bringing a religious revival that has been compared to that of the first Franciscans. More than once the Communists themselves, not realizing the incompatibility of doctrine, have made overtures for Catholic cooperation. The personality of Cardinal Verdier, Archbishop of Paris, has played no small part in reconciling formerly hostile circles to Catholicism, with his pastoral care for the poorest industrial suburbs of the city, where Communism is most rife. "Even if you are Communists," he tells them, "you are still my children." The Church of France, impoverished, shorn of political power, has acquired by this very fact renewed power of spiritual penetration.

From all these causes, the representation of the great Passion Play, under government auspices, at first a hazardous experiment, has come to seem the most natural thing in the world. Natural in Paris in a special sense, for there, under the shadow of Notre Dame, one had the impression that the traditions of the age that produced it were continuous and living, and that many in that enormous audience were watching it with the same mingling of emotion and simple wonder and pride in achievement as must have been felt when it was first played. And if others, in the words, indeed, of the preface to the official text, see in it simply "a masterpiece translating with admirable freshness of feeling and incomparable art, the powerful emotion of one of the great dramas of humanity," the play is there to speak for itself, to fulfil its original function of instructing the simple.

The setting is of the plainest: to the left, a huge stained-glass window represents heaven, to the right is the mouth of hell, in concrete, from which from time to time come leaping devils in the flare of Bengal lights. It is the intention of the producer, M. Pierre Aldebert, to distract the eye as little as possible from the cathedral itself, on which subdued flood-lighting brings out the Last Judgment over the door, the long row of saints in their niches, the slender columns of the gallery, leaving the towers dark against the journeying stars. The acting has the same simplicity (and there are many famous actors in the cast),

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the perfection of art which conceals art; they let the words speak for themselves, in their dignity and beauty, words that follow those of the Gospels so closely (a closeness unattainable in modern French) that only a rereading of the text reveals the marvels of the versification.

The moments of comic relief such as Shakespeare uses bring no discord. (As one of his students I remember M. Gustave Cohen, who has acted as literary adviser in the present production, showing how it is in Shakespeare that the tradition of the mystery play culminates.) And the various personages are characterized by engagingly human touches. Caiphas complains that the fact that *ce Jhésus* dares to contradict

> us, the presidents and doctors,
> governors and legislators,

has so injured their reputation that their revenues have suffered! Judas insists on inquiring the price of the hire of the Upper Room. If Saint John is known to the high priest's household, it is as the young man who delivers the fish. (In this Arnoul Gréban anticipates H. V. Morton, who discovered that the high priest's fish always came from Capharnaum.) There is a touching innovation, which, like so much in the mystery plays, reveals a certain irony at the expense of the ruling classes, when Pilate makes his offer to release a prisoner. "The People" ask immediately for "Jhésus le prophète tant doulx," and only when Caiphas's threats have reduced them to silence, can the cry of "the Jews" be heard, demanding Barabbas. (One is reminded of Péguy's Saint Joan: "Les français ne l'auraient pas abandonné." Arnoul Gréban must have had the same feeling.)

The central Figure is portrayed with a very tender reverence. When the prologue bids the audience maintain "une amoureuse silence" it strikes the key-note of the play, an invitation to love and wonder. There is an exquisite scene where Jesus meets His Mother on the way to the Mount of Olives, after which "moult piteusement se despart Nostre-Dame," and in the Agony in the Garden the poet is able to lift what might be unbearable into lyrical beauty.

As interlude, or at the more solemn moments like the Last Supper, the play is accompanied by music, contemporary with it or older, played on the organ of Notre Dame and on the new instrument, the *Ondes Marthenot,* which makes it sound as falling from the air, and sung by the Petits Chanteurs à la Croix de Bois.

Nothing could be more impressive than the final scene. A mounted procession of Roman soldiers, scarlet cloaked, proceeds from under the auditorium to the stage. One wondered where they found horses and riders to look so natural, so untheatrical. Could it be—? It was, the Garde Républicaine itself, lent by the Prefecture of Police. From behind an eminence, the three tall crosses are slowly raised and fall into place, as a child with a truly celestial voice sings the old Burgundian "Complaint of the Passion." The Words from the Cross are spoken. Saint Michael appears, a shining silver figure, under the tower of Notre Dame to cry the defeat of Satan. At the "Consummatum est!" the sound of the earthquake is given by a shiver of the great bells, repeated as Jesus gives up the ghost. Saint Michael bids the angels sing the triumph of the Redemption, the Centurion cries his profession of faith. The rose window lights up, rose-red, gentian blue, the organ bursts into the "Te Deum," which is joined by the *ondes,* by the trumpets of the Garde, by the choirs, and the thunder of the bells.

Though, as we have seen, the promoters of the play were inspired by various motives, some purely secular and esthetic, one feels that in this play the very spirit of France speaks, a France that has resumed her ancient rôle of the intellectual center of Christendom.

Three Fish-hawks

I thought that fish-hawks were a part of me
I left with boyhood by a reach of sea
Too blue and beautiful to last, and here
Were three of them together, this late year.

Three birds above and three in the clear river,
I saw them sweep with pinions all a-quiver,
They linked the circles of their easy flight
In the upper and the lower light.

The sun came through their tails and scalloped wings,
They were the gracefulest of living things,
Half air and feathers lighter than the air,
Catching afire with the sunlight there.

Their wings knew how to turn without a plan,
A brain was in the nervous, lovely fan
Their tails spread out, they tipped and turned as though
It was an ecstasy merely to go.

Every feather on them was alive,
One after one, they shot down in a dive,
And split the looking-glass with their sharp thews,
Rose again and filled the air with dews.

They fitted their rapt spirals to each other's,
Each alone was lost without his brothers,
They scaled together in the drift of chance,
Till life seemed like a dim word for a dance.

And I had never left the flame and snow
Which were the shining coast I used to know,
Fish-hawks wheeled in hundreds through the day,
And time had never touched my hair with grey.

ROBERT P. TRISTRAM COFFIN.

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WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS: 1837-1920

By DANIEL S. RANKIN

THIS year will witness a lively revival of interest in the literary productions of William Dean Howells. His is a great name in American letters—in fiction, criticism, comedies of social satire, and autobiographical works. Through six productive decades, from 1860 to 1920, his books developed, guided and extended their author's influence into an authority that was a firm yet gentle domination of American literary art. Clyde Fitch correctly called this time "Howell's Age!"

Discarding romantic exaggeration, Howells championed the cause of realism with serene insistence until his way of writing American fiction became the established mode. He was a realist in the ideal sense, with a philosophy of art supported by standards of taste distinctly American and culturally democratic. His nimble "Criticism and Fiction" is full of shrewdly considered judgments. To accuse him of neglecting in his fiction the evils of life is idle, even stupid. With the vicious he would not treat, maintaining that what is gross is not the stock-in-trade of the artist.

> He held his pen in trust
> To Art, not serving shame or lust.

Even Christopher Morley has made the mistake of misjudging Howells, through a gleyed notion of comparing him unfavorably with Whitman, an unsavory attitude.

Howells was born in 1837, at Martin's Ferry, Ohio, a little town on the Ohio River, across from Wheeling, West Virginia. A century ago Martin's Ferry was the Middle West. What of the influence of this environment on a boy who was to become a radical in a genteel way? What of the years of his youth, his ambitions, and his approach to success? You will understand him and know him intimately in the confidences of his analytical reminiscences. There is no official "Life" of Howells. Why should any be written? No biographer could interpret his career and its relation to his theories and his work in a fashion superior to the volumes he wrote about himself.

Read the novels of Howells, of course: "The Rise of Silas Lapham," for its perfection of characterization, its social satire, its vital realism; "Indian Summer," for its exquisite art in realizing the situation involving youth and middle age; "A Modern Instance," for the surprises of meeting Bartley Hubbard, Marcia Gaylord, and her father the Judge; "April Hopes," for the brightness of its social comedy and the contrasted temperaments of Dan Mavering and Alice Pasmer; "The Landlord of Lion's Head," because it fulfils all the requirements of a good story, and "The Son of Royal Langbrith," for its subtlety, and to hear John Langbrith blurt out the truth.

But in this centenary year spend more time over the revelations of this sturdy but polite radical in a group of autobiographical books and self-critical essays written after 1890. "A Boy's Town" was the first. He thought it one of his best books. None is better! With a happy combination of candor and reticence it reveals the thoughts, impressions and activities of his earliest years. Hamilton, Ohio, is the background, for the boy's family began a nine years' sojourn there when William was three. In his father's country newspaper and printing office the little lad faced realities, and in Dayton, Ohio, the family residence from 1848 to 1850, he learned the bitterness of real poverty. His father's newspaper failed. As it declined, the boy never knew the comfort of a full night's sleep.

> Until eleven o'clock I helped put the telegraphic dispatches (then a new and proud thing with us) into type, and between four and five o'clock in the morning I was carrying papers to our subscribers.

"Years of My Youth" supplies the stories of these hard years without rancor. "My Year in a Log Cabin" and "New Leaf Mills" interpret the experience of another failure, the attempt of his father and uncles to transform a saw mill on the Little Miami River near Xenia, Ohio, into a paper mill. After a winter in Columbus, Ohio, where the boy, now fourteen, a compositor on the *Ohio State Journal*, received $4 a week salary, the family went to the northeastern part of the state to settle in Jefferson.

A yearning after financial security prompted these frequent moves. In the Howells family there were nine children unacquainted with the least luxury except reading. Young William Dean Howells had decided his life's work—literature. The influences that guided his taste and style are some of the surprises in "My Literary Passions." Success as a poet was his first ambition. The *Atlantic Monthly* for January, 1860, contained his "Andenken" (later called "Pleasure Pain" in his collected "Poems"). The excitement of this achievement was prolonged by the appearance of "The Poet's Friends" in the February issue of the *Atlantic*. Happiness was his in a high degree when a slender book of poems, written with his friend John J. Platt, "Poems of Two Friends," was published during the same year. Howells's local fame as a newspaper writer who had been approved as an author was enlarged in the minds

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of his devoted Western friends after a literary pilgrimage he made to the East at this time. Boston was his destination; the Cambridge group, the object of his veneration. To read his ardent account in "Literary Friends and Acquaintances" is to be assured that all his expectations were fulfilled. Lunch with Lowell, talks with Holmes, a meeting with Longfellow, the introduction to Hawthorne from Lowell, to Emerson from Hawthorne! This young man from Ohio brought to New England a culture recognizable at once as distinctive.

"The Country Printer," a title applied to himself by Howells in an essay of the name in his book, "Impressions and Experiences," had become famous. Commissioned to write the campaign biography of Lincoln, he felt that it was impossible to go to Springfield and gather material. The process of collecting accurate information for its contents was unusual:

> What we did was to commission a young law-student from those I knew to go to Springfield and get the material for me. When he brought it back, I felt the charm of the material; the wild poetry of its reality was not unknown to me; I was at home with it, for I had known the belated backwoods of a certain region in Ohio; I had almost lived the pioneer and I wrote the book with none of the reluctance I felt from studying its sources.

The biography sold well, and it remains delightfully readable. Its author's fame brightened, and before the ending of the year 1860, one more happy element was added to the variety of his good fortune. He met Eleanor Gertrude Mead of Brattleboro, Vermont, who was spending the winter with relatives in Columbus, Ohio. They were married in Paris on Christmas Eve, 1862. The United States consulship at Venice, a reward for the campaign life of Lincoln, gave the young writer his first acquaintance with Europe, and he had sailed for this quiet diplomatic post on the S.S. Glasgow from New York, November 9, 1861.

As consul he had ample time to devote to his literary activities, not too much drain upon his salary of $1,000 a year, and when he brought his gay and gifted wife to Venice, the years there, until his return to the United States in the summer of 1865, were in his own phrase, "times of bliss."

His life was long; his literary output, almost confusing in its abundance. At the end of his literary career he wrote a last novel, "The Leatherwood God," about a religious impostor, dramatically and realistically exposed by a clash of circumstances he had not foreseen. The scene is Ohio, at a time and under conditions Howells had known in the days of his youth. The book is powerful and important, exhibiting in 1916 its author's vigorous genius and his perfect realization of a vanished era in the only one of his novels that shares with his autobiographical volumes the recollections of the wild poetry, to use his own phrase, of pioneer reality. There is humor in this book too, of the variety expected of the man who wrote in his "Literary Passions": "You cannot be at perfect ease with a friend who does not joke."

ON THE ROAD TO DAMASCUS

By SISTER JULIE

THERE is but a slight connection between Saint Paul and damask tablecloths but what there is—through the accident of geographical propinquity—is worth considering. Everybody associates the great Apostle of the Gentiles with the road to Damascus. The drama of Saul's conversion with its spectacular incidents, the blinding light, the challenging words, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou Me?", the cataclysmic change from the zealous persecutor, authoritative and confident, to the man groping his painful way with the assistance of his inferiors to the house of Judas in the street that is called Straight—all of this flashes upon the mind with the phrase, "on the road to Damascus." This Syrian city celebrates this year the centenary of the notable event, commonly believed to have occurred in 37 A. D.

A far different approach may be made to Damascus by the investigator into the history of words. Few persons will associate table linen with Damascus, but once the connection has been established, the word "damask" will evoke a thousand evanescent memories of Damascus, "pearl of the orient," a city that the Arabs say is like a handful of seed-pearls on an emerald carpet.

It is generations now since "damask" meant anything in English except table linen, of both superior and inferior quality. It is a colorless, prosaic word in ordinary usage, for so long a time associated with mere domesticity that for the average person it retains nothing of its ancient splendor; it suggests no history more alluring than the utilitarian life of a particular piece of table linen. But what a glamorous history is revealed to the delver into the origin of words. Learn for the first time that "damask" was originally a fabric produced by the looms of Damascus in the twelfth century, and you will discover incidentally that Damascus is the oldest city of the world still inhabited; that the city is mentioned several times in Genesis, and that the steward of Abraham, he who showed such discretion in the choice of Rebecca, was called "Damascus Eleazer." Whether or not Eleazer was a Damascene, we shall never know now—unless the prehistoric continues to emerge at the alarming rate which has in the last two decades set back the boundaries of historic knowledge thousands of years. We do know, however, that Damascus is a city as old as time, and retains vestiges of Semitic, Greek, Persian, Roman, Arab and Turkish cultures.

The history of Damascus is epitomized in her great mosque, the greatest mosque in the world, a magnificent edifice, the interior of which was unhappily almost destroyed by fire in 1893, but which still retains the romanesque columns of the Christian basilica which was begun in the year 375 by the Emperor Theodosius to enshrine

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the relics of Saint John the Baptist. The glorious Precursor's head is still venerated there in a beautiful little shrine of white marble between the third and fourth pillars of the nave—strange resting place like unto the destiny of that other noble head, Saint Thomas More's, lying obscurely and unhonored in the Roper vault in the Anglican parish church at Canterbury.

The Basilica of St. John was built on the site, perhaps on the foundations, of a pagan temple, mentioned in the fourth book of Kings (v, 18) as being devoted to Remnon. There Naaman the Syrian was wont to accompany his king to worship. And his conversation with Eliseus (he whose conversation with the boys later on took a strange, unsocial turn) enables us to entertain the happy thought that, after Naaman the Syrian had washed seven times in the Jordan, there was one worshiper of the true God, even in the pagan temple of Remnon in Damascus.

The word, "damask," does not tell us all this, of course. We gather it incidentally on the road, once we discover that the Damascenes at one time excelled in the production of a certain fabric, as unlike as possible to the fabric which we call by the same name. So superb was the excellence of the product of the Damascene looms that traders fastened the name "damask," i. e., "of Damascus," upon every silken fabric richly wrought and curiously designed. From this we may understand that Damascus was once a great emporium of world trade, a determining factor in world commerce—Damascus, now a sort of ruined Paradise, a Mohammedan city curiously hybridized, where one may ride in electric street cars, or, if one wishes to be really elegant and fashionable, between the humps of a stately, idiotic-looking white camel. All this is the trailing cloud of glory which streams from the word to the mind of the investigator. What the word does tell us is that the scepter has passed from East to West, for damask is no longer produced by the looms of Damascus but by the looms of Belfast, Dumfermline, Glasgow and Philadelphia.

It was in 1430 that an English poet named Lydgate used for the first time the word, "damask," in the sense of a rich fabric. "Clothes of velvet, Damaske, and of golde," he wrote, in the "Storie of Thebes," making his readers aware by his capitalization that Damaske was something specific. Other fifteenth- and sixteenth-century users of the word indicate that it denoted a rich silk fabric woven with elaborate designs and figures, often of a variety of colors. Gradually it lost its specific quality, gradually many fabrics other than Damaske laid a thievish claim upon the name, so that in 1725 De Foe could innocently write the phrase, "A quantity of China damasks and other wrought silks," unaware of any contradiction in terms. As early as 1542, "damask" denoted table-linen; and the Oxford English Dictionary records the statement made in the year 1696: "Damaske . . . is for few uses except for table linen."

But not alone for its rich, figured fabrics was Damascus famous in the Middle Ages. The "damask cheek" of Shakespeare's Viola is a memory of the roses of Damascus. "The damask rose with its few rich velvety-crimson petals," wrote an Englishman in 1869, "is a memory and that is all." Undying memory, graced with immortality by Shakespeare and by Keats. No such grace has come to the "damask powder" made from these roses, nor for the "damask water," fragrant with their essence.

To the famed damask plum, an inferior sort of immortality has been granted, an existence on a lower, humbler plane, scarcely recognizable. There is a rich flavor in John Evelyn's "Plums of Damask," that is but feebly conveyed by the insignificant English word, "damson." One wonders how the blighting change came about. When did the glorious Prunum Damascenum, with its great pendants of amethyst hanging innumerable in the fair gardens of Damascus, luscious and deeply glowing, in rich groves where grew also pomegranates and pistacchios, shrivel and fade into the brownish little plum that we call the damson? Was it in proportion as its glorious name "damascene" has weakened into damscene, damesyn, dameson, damsyn, damsen, finally becoming standardized as "damson"? No one thinks of glamorous Damascus in connection with damsons. And rightly so. True, the damson has its usefulness, but Ichabod, Ichabod, its glory has departed. "Damask" retains at least a trace of diminished splendor; still do we associate design and figure and art and artizanship with the word. But "damson"—mean little plum, hardly presentable on its own merits, needing the enhancements of housewifery to make its poor little fruit edible, forever associated with nursery suppers and teas—would anyone ever suppose that it came from Damascus, "pearl of the orient"?

Damascus, city of gardens, of plums, and of roses, with its white minarets bathed in sunlight—no wonder that it produced fabrics unmatched for beauty of design and of workmanship. Damascene roses, damascene plums, damascene figured silks, and—strange companion for these gracious things—the damascene sword. Pity that the Damascenes turned to the manufacture of steel. Of that I shall not write.

Both "damson" and "damask" are symbols of how the glory has passed from Damascus. "Damask" may now be used to designate the most inferior fabrics. Once it was a term glowing with color, heavy with the riches of the fabulous East, resplendent with gold and jewels, fit to be the garb of emperors and queens, fit to drape their marble palaces. Of all this glamor little remains in the word "damask," nothing of color, nothing of richness, nothing exotic or romantic or poetic, but only the element of figure however mean and inartistic. But it is enough. The imagination, tempered with a little information, passes from the twentieth-century figured fabric restricted to a utilitarian use to the "pearl of the desert," a pearl set in emeralds, that city that Mohammed refused to enter because it was given to men to enter Paradise but once, the city that the Arabs call one of the four gardens of Eden, the city that drew the young Jew, Saul of Tarsus, to her gates, whence he was to emerge the thirteenth Apostle, great doctor of the Gentiles, whose voice was to reverberate throughout the world, from generation to generation. On the road to Damascus, Saul saw Christ. Forever and forever will even the glamor of Damascus be outshone by that resplendent meeting.

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SLAVES TO PRESTIGE

By LUIGI STURZO

IN CASES of administrative deficiency or government crisis, the constitutional system offers two remedies, either ministerial change, or the more radical measure of a change of parliamentary majority through an appeal to the country. There is also another, and very human method, which a strong and well-supported Cabinet need not fear to adopt—a confession of error which will obtain for it from its majority a renewal of confidence.

When Mr. Baldwin, after the failure of British policy in the Italo-Abyssinian war, declared that he was humiliated by what had happened, and unhesitatingly accepted its consequences, he showed in his human humility a greater courage than those who in his place would have vehemently defended the mistakes they had made, or have resigned, leaving to others the task of remedying the evil.

The dictatorships are debarred from these pacific solutions, for the modern dictators present themselves as infallible, superior to other men and to events. The sentence, "Mussolini is always right," solemnly taught to the children of Italy, is for him a chain about his feet. He is forced against the evidence of the facts, against the interests of the country and againt his own personality, to assume a mask of infallibility, to believe and to make others believe that he has done marvellously, even when he knows in his heart that he has made a mistake. The same applies to Hitler, and to their other imitators, great or small.

When events are too much for them, they are forced to camouflage the facts themselves, so as to find some way to make the world believe that they were not in the wrong and that everything happened as they had wished and as they had expected. Hence their outbursts of anger and scorn when their designs are discovered and their pretences unmasked.

Hitler rages against the papal encyclical, more (to my mind) because unknown to him and in spite of the vigilance of the Gestapo it was read in all Catholic churches on Palm Sunday, than because of its content, with the Pope's stern reproof of treaty violation and of the claim that Germany has the right to violate treaties if this is to her advantage.

Human prudence should dissuade Hitler from driving 20,000,000 Catholics into a religious struggle which would bring him and his government to a Canossa, as happened to that of Bismarck. But, although Bismarck too was authoritarian and dictatorial, he was counterbalanced by a Parliament that had a certain liberty, and by a monarchy which stood above the conflict and could, as it did, dismiss the Iron Chancellor and change his policy.

Hitler is at once Chancellor and head of the state, and he has reduced Parliament to a supernumerary part, to something less than the chorus of a Greek tragedy which, if it took no part in the action, could underline the fate of the chief actor. The parliaments of the modern dictatorships cannot allow themselves the luxury of a single word of criticism or advice. They must consolidate the tragic position of the men who are always right, the men who cannot be wrong, the slaves of their own dictatorship.

Pius XI in his encyclical of March 14 on the situation in Germany, has a passage that fits the case: "He, then, who through sacrilegious misunderstanding of the essential diversity between God and the creature, between the God-Man and man pure and simple, dared to set a mere mortal, were he the greatest of all ages, side by side with the Christ, or, what is worse, above Him or against Him—let such a man know that he is a false prophet, to whom apply the words of the Scriptures: 'He who dwells in the heavens shall laugh at them.'"

One remembers the declarations of the Provost of Studies of Rome, Professor Padellaro, to Raymond Cartier of the *Echo de Paris,* which published them on September 30, 1935: "The center of everything is Mussolini; one can barely imagine what Mussolini means to the children. Mussolini is living Providence, the man who loves them and defends them. Children are like men, they feel like men. Mussolini is a hero, Mussolini is a god." At this poor Cartier perhaps jibbed; he says himself, "Did I involuntarily raise my eyebrows? Perhaps. . . ." At which Professor Padellaro remarked, "All this, doubtless is hard for foreigners to understand, to admit. But none the less, it is all true." We may repeat mournfully, "None the less, it is all true."

Mussolini was attacked by the international press, by the British Parliament and by the Anglican Bishops for the events of Addis Ababa on February 19, when, after the attempt on the life of the Viceroy Graziani and other generals, it is said that 6,000 Abyssinians were massacred by the Fascist militiamen.

I do not intend to attribute to Mussolini the direct responsibiilty for this massacre, which was largely due to the unexpected conspiracy and to the immediate reaction among the Fascists, who are only too accustomed to methods of war unchecked by moral or juridical limits.

A constitutional government, faced with facts of such gravity, not only would have permitted them to be discussed in the press (whereas in Italy up till now the press has said nothing of the matter), but would have ordered an inquiry, ascertained the responsibilities involved, discharged and punished the guilty, deplored what had occurred, and given guarantees to the Abyssinian population that such incidents would not be repeated.

Are the dictators bound to condone the crimes of their subordinates? They are not bound; indeed often and arbitrarily they send away their collaborators and dependents, imprison them, or worse, kill them (as Hitler did the night of June 30, 1934), without believing that this has shaken their prestige.

But when the charge is made abroad, and other countries raise their voices, or it is the system itself that is incriminated, or they fear to lose their authority, their false authority, in the face of the world and of their subjects, then the dictators, at once puffed up with pride and slaves to themselves, are forced to side with those who have transgressed the moral laws and the Law of Nations, setting themselves above human judgments and the voice of offended Christianity.

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LITURGY AND DEPRESSION

By CHARLES F. DONOVAN

WHY ALL this ill-timed fuss about the liturgy? Why divert Catholic energies into a liturgical movement at a moment when gargantuan foes—poverty, paganism, anarchy—demand our concentrated attention? This is the complaint of many earnest Catholics (whose thoughts were articulated by a recent correspondent to THE COMMONWEAL)—an attitude of impatience with the supporters of the liturgical movement as impractical theorists, as proponents of an esoteric or superogatory Christianity, when the call is for dynamic Catholic Action. They evidently regard the present emphasis on the liturgy as about as practical and appropriate as would be discourses on poetry by President Roosevelt and our legislators to the distraught laborers of the country.

Obviously this unsympathetic attitude is traceable in large part to the sadly common misunderstanding of the term "liturgy," and to an ignorance of the nature and aims of the liturgical movement. For many "liturgy" is synonymous with "rubrics." Others connect the term with such ceremonial details as candlesticks, vestments and altar appointments, or with church decorations or the use of missals. Many devout Catholics therefore have a dim notion of the liturgical movement as something esthetic and non-essential, and for them the participators in the movement are either artistic innovators or antiquarian cranks. With starvation and radicalism stalking the streets of the nation, practical-minded people are not to be blamed for finding fault with those who, they think, are preaching the "frills" of Christianity. Many good Catholics either silently or openly censure the liturgists in the present crisis for a "let them eat cake" attitude.

"Liturgy" in reality signifies, from its Greek origin, "public worship." So, when we speak of the liturgy we are not speaking of the frills or accidentals of religious exercises, nor are we speaking in particular of the form of procedure of ceremonies, but of the acts themselves of religious worship—not private, however, but specifically public or corporate worship. Corporate worship—that is the watchword, the quintessence, the *raison d'être* of the liturgical revival. Worship, to use Scholastic terms, may be called the "matter" of the liturgical apostolate, corporate worship the "form," the distinguishing element and point of special emphasis. Worship of course has always obtained in the Church; but corporate worship, the characteristically Christian worship, the prayer of all through "the Liturgist" Christ, has been neglected for centuries and is now the object of the liturgical revival.

A key and summation of this apostolate and a direct answer to those who consider its work of secondary importance is the title of its leading organ in this country, the brave and inspiring monthly, *Orate Fratres*. In these two words, "Pray brethren," are contained the nature and aim of the liturgical movement, for they include the notions of worship (*orate*) and of union, of fraternal, cooperative action, of corporateness (*fratres*). The liturgy then is nothing but the prayer, not of a churchman, but of the Church, which is the bride and mystical body of Christ; it is the public worship, not of isolated Christians, but of corporate Christianity.

Concerning the problems that confront the Church today, one large and basic distinction must be kept luminously in mind. There is a set of difficulties to be met outside the Church; there is a distinct set of difficulties to be met within the Church. Outside the Church there is paganism (oriental and occidental) to be evangelized, Communism to be coped with, social and labor questions to be treated, poverty and suffering to be alleviated. Within the Church there is leakage to be stopped, indifferentism and nominal Catholicism to be combated, a blighting pagan atmosphere to be offset. Catholic Action embraces both spheres of activity, the external and the internal.

The liturgical apostolate is a movement within the Church directed to the welfare, spiritual rather than material, of those who through baptism are of the Church. The spiritual bankruptcy of this country antedates and surpasses in gravity our protracted financial depression. For twenty-five years our Catholic people have been inhaling, willy-nilly, an increasingly noxious atmosphere of irreligion, selfish materialism, and pagan indifference. People are in physical hunger and distress, and to assist them is one of the duties of Catholic Action. But souls, souls within the Church, are starving—a starvation the more pitiable because imperceptible, almost universally, to those it affects.

The liturgical apostolate meets this spiritual depression with its plea, *Orate fratres*. It calls those of the fold to a fuller, Christian life; it preaches corporate worship, the prayerful union of all the members of the Mystical Body in Christ their head. It preaches the subordination of self, the hiding of self in Christ—in Whom we are as other sons to the Father, without Whom we are not known by the Father. This is not a new form of Christianity, it is Christianity, though it is new to some who are Christians. The present spiritual leavening within the Church does not innovate, it renovates.

It is difficult to conceive of any work of the Church more practical or important—considering that the Church is charged first and above all with the spiritual well-being of its members—than the work and aims of the liturgical apostolate. To make Catholics conscious of their Christian vocation as members of Christ and Sons of God, to make the life of grace, of union with Christ, the dynamic force of their lives, operating twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week; to teach them to center their lives in the Mass, the cardinal act of the liturgy, in full knowledge of their participation in Christ's priesthood and their consequent prerogative of offering this Sacrifice as priests in union with the priest; to bring them all, laborer and capitalist without distinction of race or class, closer to one another in charity through knowledge of their mutual dignity and partnership in Christ—such is the ambition of the liturgical movement. And such being its ambition and such its scope, once it is understood by Catholics it will not be regarded as inconsequential or ill-timed, but will be hailed and supported as a means to a veritable second spring within the Church, to a reflowering of the "true Christian spirit."

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Seven Days' Survey

The Church.—Throughout the United States October 24 will be observed as Mission Sunday. By arrangement with the sponsors of the "Ave Maria Hour" a dramatization of the life of Pauline Jaricot, foundress of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, will be broadcast over station WMCA, in the evening. * * * Two important American diocesan congresses were held during the week. "Catholic Youth and Social Action" was the theme of the first annual diocesan Catholic Youth Organization conference at Fort Wayne, Ind., October 17. Catholic Action Week opened at Davenport, Iowa, October 17, with a program that included a conference of the priests of the diocese, a meeting of the Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems, and gatherings of the Diocesan Council of Catholic Women and the Diocesan Holy Name Society. * * * The Diocese of Wichita, Kan., is celebrating its golden jubilee, October 20 to 22; the Diocese of Natchez, Miss., was 100 years old, October 19. * * * At a rally at Albert Hall, London's largest auditorium, Archbishop Thomas Williams of Birmingham, England, declared that Catholic employers should read the two great social encyclicals of Leo XIII and Pius XI once a year. He also suggested that employers and business men join the Catholic Social Guild. * * * Bishop-elect Duane G. Hunt of Salt Lake is the twelfth convert to the Faith to be raised to the episcopal dignity in the United States. He will be consecrated in the Cathedral of the Madeleine, Salt Lake City, October 28. * * * On accepting the insignia of the Pontifical Academy of Science, Dr. Thomas Hunt Morgan paid special tribute to the monk, Gregor Mendel, and to Louis Pasteur. Dr. Robert Andrew Millikan said that modern science "in its origin and development has been largely dependent upon the initiative taken by religious organizations" and cited as Catholic scientist pioneers: Nicholas Copernicus, Roger Bacon, Leonardo da Vinci and Abbé Lemaître.

The Nation.—Treasury officials were said unofficially to have inspired the contention that the reduction of "pump priming" by the federal government and the collections on payroll taxes are the chief factors in bringing the stock market drop. During 1936, bonus cash totaling $1,379,000,000 was distributed; this year the sum was $92,000,000. For the present fiscal year relief expenses have been cut about $1,000,000,000. New state and federal taxes on payrolls have taken (up to October 5) $575,000,000. * * * The WPA employed 1,456,195 persons on its projects during the week ending September 18, 1937. The number was 2,481,516 during the week ending September 28, 1936. WPA intends employing an average of 1,650,000 during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1938. * * * The Chamber of Commerce announced that during the first half of the year automobiles and parts ranked first as the country's leading export products, displacing unmanufactured cotton for the second time in history, the first being in 1929. Only one-fifth of our exports by value were agricultural products, while before 1935 they regularly made up about one-third of our export trade. * * * The Supreme Court handed down 300 orders upon reassembling, telling what cases it would consider and which ones it refused to hear. A ruling on the powers of the National Labor Relations Board to adjust disputes under the Wagner Act was assured. It will also review a case concerning picketing. It refused to hear many cases based on attacks against the constitutionality of several New Deal laws. * * * G-men liquidated the current Public Enemy No. 1 in a hail of machine gun bullets in Bangor, Me. The gangster, Al Brady, ran an interstate bank bandit gang similar to Dillinger's.

The Wide World.—Nationalist forces in Spain began a drive on all fronts. General Franco reprieved Harold E. Dahl, American aviator who was shot down by Nationalists while fighting for the Loyalists, after a Nationalist court martial had decreed the death sentence. The Loyalist government ordered the immediate evacuation of all bank reserves and gold assets of Asturias and Santander provinces. All important ministries will be moved soon from Valencia to Barcelona. * * * As the result of negotiations that have been in progress since last April, the German government will formally guarantee the neutrality and integrity of Belgian soil in any conflict that may arise in the future. Germany's unemployed decreased 40,000 in September, leaving a total of only 469,000, a new record low. The Duke of Windsor received an enthusiastic reception in Berlin. He visited the Stock machine works in Gruenwald and will inspect several other National Socialist factories before sailing for New York on November 6. * * * J. Theodore Marriner, United States Consul General in Beirut, was assassinated by an Armenian who was enraged because a United States visa had been denied him. * * * In a speech to the members of the Central Cooperative Committee, Premier Mussolini urged Italians to forego foreign goods that are not indispensable in order to improve Italy's trade balance. * * * Incomplete returns from the French cantonal elections indicated that the Popular Front parties have held their strength with few changes. * * * Following publication of an agreement between Croat and Serb Oppositions, Premier Milan Stoyadinovitch declared that the government had decided not to submit the Concordat with the Vatican to the Senate for ratification at the present time.

* * * *

Presidential Speeches.—The day after he delivered a short address honoring Polish-Americans, and the same day he announced calling an extraordinary session of Congress for November 15, President Roosevelt gave a long "fireside chat" over the radio. The legislative program of the special session was not given out in definite, num-

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bered points, but the major subjects treated seemed to be six. He divided the farm problem into two. "Crop-surplus control relates to the total amount of any major crop grown in the whole nation on all cultivated land, good or bad." For this, the ever-normal granary was foreshadowed. "Land use, however, is a policy of providing each farmer with the best quality and type of land we have, or can make available, for his part in that total production." For this the President urged the seven regional planning administrations—"the seven TVA's" debated last session. A wages and hours law was taken up, to remove "domestic trade barriers" created by low income groups. He attacked the idea of regional wage differentials. Another point was made by the sentence: "We are already studying how to strengthen our anti-trust laws in order to end monopoly—not to hurt but to free legitimate business of the nation." Reorganization of the executive department will again be pushed by the administration. The administration's intentions in regard to foreign affairs and the neutrality laws were not clearly reflected. "America hopes for peace. Therefore America actively engages in the search for peace." The government expressed willingness to attend a conference of the parties to the nine-power treaty of 1922, with the purpose of solving the China situation. "In efforts to find that solution it is our purpose to cooperate with the other signatories to this treaty, including China and Japan."

China.—The capture of fortified Shihkiachwang, the junction of the narrow-gage railroad to Taiyuan and the Peiping-Hankow railroad, was the most important Japanese victory of their North China campaign. It was the last important Chinese stronghold in southern Hopeh. Chinese troops were reported demoralized and in full flight toward Shunteh seventy-five miles to the South, where new defense lines were to be drawn up. Observers held that the territory north of the Yellow River would soon be completely in Japanese control. Formation of a new consultative body by the Japanese government foreshadowed the opening of peace negotiations, but the Japanese spokesmen declared that this would exact the overthrow of Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang. Before their recent defeat it was estimated that 200,000 Chinese troops had been killed since the opening of the war. The Nanking government issued charges that poison gas had been used and several cases of mustard gas burns were detected at a hospital in the Chinese capital. The Japanese denied these charges which were reiterated by Mme. Chiang Kai-shek. Another incident seemed in the offing when three Japanese planes were reported to have machine-gunned three cars of the British Embassy without any resultant casualties.

Mediterranean Crisis.—The Italian government rejected the Anglo-French note inviting Italy to a triangular conversation on withdrawal of volunteers from Spain and proposed instead that the non-intervention problem be discussed in the London committee. Attention was called to the fact that Germany had not been consulted, thus emphasizing the solidarity of the Rome-Berlin axis. Virginio Gayda, editor of the *Giornale d'Italia,* charged that France was aiding the Loyalists with men and munitions and asserted by way of example that contracts were closed last September to supply the Loyalists with 500,000,000 francs worth of war materials including 1,600 revolvers, 70,000 rifles, 954 machine guns, 100 cannon, 109 airplanes, 30,000,000 rounds of ammunition and large quantities of gasoline. French intervention, he insisted, has being going on unhampered by Paris official pledges. France is opposed to Mussolini's suggestion and threatened to open the Pyrenees frontier. It was believed that if France followed this course of action, Britain would support her diplomatically. Latest news dispatches indicated that neither Britain nor France have reached a definite decision on the issue. It is not certain that any action at all will be taken.

Catechetical Congress.—At the Third National Congress of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine at St. Louis, October 9 to 12, Bishop O'Hara of Great Falls, Mont., Chairman of the Episcopal Committee on the Confraternity, said that "the most extensive and at the same time the most fertile field of Catholic Action in America and in the world today is not the reconstruction of industry, or of politics, or even in the schoolroom, but in renovating the Christian spirit in domestic society. And for this crusade we need, not a Peter the Hermit, calling men to leave their homes to rescue the tomb of Christ from the infidels, but the example of Mary and Joseph to enable parents, without leaving the four walls of their own homes, to develop the lineaments of the Christ Child in the children committed to their care." Archbishop McNicholas of Cincinnati declared, "There is justification for other students attending secular colleges and universties. Of the forty-eight agricultural colleges in the United States not one is Catholic. It is to be hoped that the call to the land will give us many trained Catholic rural leaders. The need of such leaders is most imperative. Professional schools that will not tolerate the destruction of the religious sense of students by atheistic or agnostic professors are sorely needed. But, again, the Church is in no position to multiply professional schools. . . . There is the ever-present duty of caring spiritually for all Catholic students of secular colleges and universities whether or not their attendance be justified." Archbishop Cantwell of Los Angeles said that "the Catholic laity have a larger field for the exercise of religious zeal than priests and religious," for "in all our parishes are graduates of Catholic schools and colleges who should be inspired and encouraged to band themselves into literary societies, reading circles and study clubs that they may become co-workers with us in the work of the ministry."

Ogden L. Mills.—The former Secretary of the Treasury died suddenly of a heart attack in his New York City home on October 11. He served with distinction in the House of Representatives, earning for himself a reputation as an authority on government finances and taxation. President Coolidge appointed him Under-Secretary of the

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Treasury. President Hoover elevated him to Cabinet rank. Mr. Mills exerted a powerful influence on the fiscal policies of both administrations. Since leaving the treasury he did not take an active part in public life. In his recently published book, "The Seventeen Million," he favored a revitalized Republican party frankly dedicated to conservatism—provided that Republican leadership was loyal to the tradition of individual freedom and developed a program to deal realistically with current problems. Once asked if he thought great wealth was an asset or a liability to a man in public life, Mr. Mills asserted that "it is a help in the sense that it makes a man independent, of course. It is a handicap in the sense that it lays him open to the attacks of the demagogue who, for want of any other issue, will always seek to capitalize envy. It is a handicap too in the sense that, the spur of necessity being lacking, the motive for the constant effort which builds character and makes men fit to cope with the problems of life has to come from the inside."

Mexico.—The progress of the revolution below the Rio Grande has been acutely felt by the United States citizens who hold $2,000,000,000 of investments in Mexico. And as Mexicanization proceeds American companies have been subject to attack, with strikes increasingly frequent and successful. Harvestable crops and landed estates owned by Americans have been seized without compensation. Mexican import duties have gone up 25 percent since January 1. On the other hand our purchases of Mexican silver are believed to be of invaluable assistance to the Cardenas régime. In order to consider this situation and substitute a mass of up-to-date, detailed information for the scattered complaints received hitherto, the State Department called a conference at Mexico City of all the United States consuls in Mexico under Ambassador Josephus Daniels and Joseph Duggan, head of the new State Department division of American Republics. * * * President Cardenas and General Cedillo remained at odds over the administration's communal land policy. The General, who recently resigned as Secretary of Agriculture and returned to the haven of his home state of San Luis Potosi, whence he refuses to budge, had already divided up some of the wealthy estates in his territory and given it to the peasants who later formed his private army. A number of his adherents want to have farms of their own. The government is sending in federal troops to oppose General Cedillo's army of 15,000 and his squadron of fourteen planes to enforce the collectivization of the farms of San Luis Potosi.

Farms.—Agricultural legislation is first on the docket for the special session of Congress. The farm scene is prosperous this year relative to the previous years of the depression and relative to other phases of current economy. The Bureau of Agricultural Economics announced that farmers received more dollars in the first eight months of this year than any time since 1929: $5,355,000,000, nearly $700,000,000 more than during the January-August period of last year. During the week the Farm Security Administration began allocations under terms of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act. The F.S.A. will have $9,500,000 to distribute as loans to tenants in about 300 selected counties during the present fiscal year. The price of meat, which has been disturbing consumers and governors and mayors throughout the country, fell from $.02 to $.05 a pound. Cuts per 100 pounds live cattle recently brought the butcher $20.24, compared with $15.11 last year and $12.44 in 1933. In several recent speeches Secretary Wallace has brought forward the idea of the ever-normal granary. "We will do all we can to increase world trade, but in justice to our agriculture we must recognize the lack of effective demand for American cotton, lard, wheat and tobacco by certain of the overseas countries which used to be such good purchasers. . . . It might be well worth while for both farm and city people to debate during the months immediately ahead as to whether the maximum national welfare can be attained year after year by the use of an ever-normal granary built largely on moderate loans and voluntary control, through the incentive of conservation and adjustment payments, or an ever-normal granary built largely on higher loans and compulsory control of surplus, but requiring less expenditure of government funds. With the world situation as it is today, I think we shall have to choose one or the other."

Non-Catholic Religious Activities.—During the October 5-12 session of the Episcopalians in Cincinnati, Ohio, the day by day events were as follows. Tuesday: The national council, the Church's governing body between conventions, held a preliminary meeting at which it decided to appeal to members of the church for a fund of $300,000 for emergency relief work in China. Wednesday: Right Reverend Edward L. Parsons, Bishop of California, preached the opening sermon, in which he declared that the rise of the "underprivileged classes" was "no mere transient affair such as Fascism or Nazism," but was "born of the Gospel of Christ," warned of social needs and condemned the totalitarian state as the opposite of all that the Christian faith stands for. Thursday: Speakers appealed for Church Unity, and for the acceptance of confirmation as valid. Friday: Besides a sharp debate of salary rises, Domestic Mission funds were cut in a three-year $7,500,000 budget proposal. Bishop Manning came out for economy. Saturday: A resolution was offered that official programs of future conventions do not list the actions of unofficial organizations. This was interpreted as a rebuke to the League or Industrial Democracy, and as backing Bishop Manning's stand. Sunday: The chaplain of the Senate, Dr. Z. T. Phillips, spoke over the Columbia Broadcasting System stressing the Episcopalian spiritual side of "more abundant life." Monday: The question of a one-man rule was taken up, but only the House of Bishops approached a definite concluion on the topic. Second Tuesday: The House of Clerical and Lay Deputies overwhelmingly defeated the proposal to permit remarriage within the Protestant Episcopal Church of persons divorced for any cause, except by approval of the bishops. The House of Bishops spent the day on canonical changes necessary to give effect to its decision.

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to make the presiding bishop the executive head of the Church and to instruct him to make arrangements within his diocese freeing him for his larger responsibilities.

College Presidents.—Three new college presidents were recently inducted into office at Yale, Cornell and Williams. Dr. Charles Seymour asserted that every student at Yale should be impressed with the conviction that "only through the spread of the liberal attitude in life can the nation find protection from the obscurantist reaction on the one hand or a blind revolution on the other. . . . Unless the spirit of complete freedom prevail among students and teachers, freedom from external influence and internal pressure, we commit the unforgivable sin against the first of educational principles." Dr. Edmund Ezra Day warned that "if the liberal tradition is to be sustained, there must be an unswerving belief in the capacity of the people for intelligent action; there must be a readiness on the part of the peope to follow intelligent leadership; and there must be wisely protected and adequately supported centers of higher learning in which intelligence is assiduously cultivated and has free play." Dr. James P. Baxter 3d stressed the importance of education in the social sciences during the contemporary period of insecurity and rapid change. "Just because youth with flaming hearts," he said, "will furnish us leadership which combines courage—readiness to strike out on new courses after sounding the way—with ability to scrutinize new proposals with a mind stored with the wisdom of the past and trained in the best analytical methods of the present, there is hope for this and every other free nation."

Films.—Described as an "entirely new effect" in talking pictures, "stereophonic" or third-dimension sound, wherein sound effects and dialogue emanate directly from their point of origin on the motion picture screen, received its first public demonstration before the Society of Motion Picture Engineers at the Bell Telephone Laboratories last night. This demonstration was a feature of the fall convention of the Society of Motion Picture Engineers at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York. A new process of photographing and viewing stereoscopic films through polarized glass also was demonstrated. Sponsors of both new processes predicted they could be adapted to commercial use. Development of "stereophonic" talking pictures took years of research by engineers of the Bell Laboratories and the Electrical Research Products, Inc. J. P. Maxfield of the latter organization demonstrated the process with a reel of film on which sound effects registered from exactly the point of their origin. The new system is called "third-dimensional" because it is intended to project sound in both a sidewise and a fore-and-aft direction, Mr. Maxfield explained. The "third-dimensional" effect is an improvement in tone quality.

Hour Has Struck?—The record of the A. F. of L. was much clarified during its annual convention just held in Denver. The executive council was authorized to expel all the members of the C.I.O. The traditional political policy of the federation—to elect our friends and defeat our enemies—was specifically broadened to defeat "all who would in any way favor, encourage or support the C.I.O." Charles P. Howard, president of the International Typographical Union, which, as a union, has not joined the C.I.O., was excluded from the convention because he personally is a big officer of the C.I.O. As secretary, he has signed charters for the C.I.O. covering jurisdiction claimed by A. F. of L. unions. Mr. Green said that the hour for the decisive show-down between the two union ranks had come. On October 12, at a meeting of the thirty-two heads of the constituent unions of the C.I.O., John L. Lewis echoed President Green in asserting that the "hour has struck." The C.I.O. leaders proposed that "a committee of 100 from the American Federation of Labor" and another 100 from the C.I.O. meet in conference. "This conference would then consider the methods and means whereby a unified labor movement can be brought in America." President Green rejected this proposal, saying "the telegram bears all the evidence of insincerity and it is just another document issued for C.I.O. consumption. . . . We have a standing committee of three members waiting to meet a like committee from the C.I.O." The proposal was nevertheless submitted to the full executive council, in accordance with convention orders, for final disposal.

Public Health.—During the course of the sixty-sixth annual convention of the American Public Health Association, just held in New York, important members condemned the "socialization of medicine" and warned against pressing the medical profession too precipitately toward radical change, asserting that the profession is aware of its social duty and is working toward proper means for performing it. Reholutions passed by the convention nevertheless looked toward an increase in state medicine. A special committee was set up to "study the public health aspects of medical care and cooperate with the United States Public Health Service and other federal agencies represented in the President's Interdepartmental Committee on Health and Welfare, the American Medical Association, the American Dental Association and other appropriate bodies" in order to "extend public health work to meet modern needs." More public money was asked for in general. Appropriations were sought specifically to bring better maternal and neo-natal care, and for education of medical students to implement that. A federal appropriation was requested to carry out a nation-wide accident study. A resolution asked for more money to be spent training students for syphilis work. The Vinson bill to stop stream pollution was supported, and politics in the selection of public health personnel condemned. The health officers held an interesting symposium on housing: "This country needs 6,000,000 new low-cost dwelling units . . . it is important that they should be designed so as to meet the minimum health needs of the American people at a minimum cost." The economic and social needs for housing were compared, and both were found to be steadily increasing. The symposium produced health standards to guide any possible public or private housing program, stressing chiefly adequate air, heat and quiet.

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The Play and Screen

Susan and God

I AM GOING first to speak of the acting of Rachel Crothers's latest play; not that the play itself isn't an amusing and even poignant comedy, but that where Miss Gertrude Lawrence sits, there is the head of the table. Miss Lawrence lacks nothing, unless perhaps the tragic note, which she has not yet been called upon to sound. Her charm, her sense of humor, her warmth of personality, her grace of movement, her pathos and emotional intensity, her ability to point up a speech or sum up the meaning of a whole paragraph in a single word, are surpassed by no English-speaking actress, and in their combination equaled perhaps by none. In short, Miss Lawrence is *sui generis*. She is more than ever this in "Susan and God" in the part of the society butterfly, who after neglecting her husband and daughter becomes inoculated with the virus of what is evidently meant to be Dr. Buchman's Oxford Movement, and proceeds to attempt to reform her friends by getting them to confess publicly their sins. In it the comic spirit truly reigns supreme and showers the part with "volleys of silvery laughter." Ably supported by her fellow players, and particularly by Paul McGrath and Nancy Kelly, Miss Lawrence raises the play to a height which perhaps the author herself had not conceived. So much for the acting. What of the play itself?

Aside from the character of Susan, Miss Crothers's play is not a supreme piece of comic writing. It is not because, though its dialogue is always lifelike and often witty, and its separate scenes telling, it is none the less lacking in unity. It sets out to be a satire on the extravagances of the Buchmanites, and at the end of the first act we look forward to a play which is to be a mordant criticism of a religiosity which appeals to the boredom of the well-to-do, without making any demands upon them in the shape of sacrifice. But in the succeeding acts the spirit which should have made the play really significant evaporates in the more personal problem of the relation between the wife, the husband and the daughter. As such it is still a moving document, but what it gains in the particular it loses in the universal. Even with this weakness Miss Crothers remains an able dramatist, and one of the few now writing for the American theatre to whom the moral virtues mean something. She never turns the basic virtues on their heads and labels them vices, or proclaims the vices virtues. She has balance, taste and good sense. Her successes have been many and well earned. "Susan and God" is among them, and the most delightful play the season has yet given. (At the Plymouth Theatre.)

To Quito and Back

JUST when it was hoped that propaganda plays of the Left were dying down the Guild comes through with this one by Ben Hecht. It tells a story about a novelist who elopes from his wife with a young girl, goes to South America and gets involved and finally killed in a radical revolution. It is a pretty ignoble tale told in some good writing, but mostly wordily and often in purple prose. There is moreover a good deal of vulgarity of thought and dialogue, and one inexcusable scene of blasphemy. The best part of the play is the acting of Joseph Buloff as a South American revolutionary leader, effective but over sentimentalized by the dramatist, and an admirable picture of a British diplomat excellently acted by Francis Compton. Leslie Banks does his best with the unreal part of the novelist, but Sylvia Sydney is utterly colorless in the equally unreal part of the girl with whom he elopes. The play in short has little dramatic merit, and even as propaganda it is inept. It is a pity that the Guild with its fine record should present it. (At the Guild Theatre.)

GRENVILLE VERNON.

Stand-In

WALTER WANGER'S production of "Stand-In," based on Clarence Budington Kelland's *Saturday Evening Post* story, and written with much originality by Gene Towne and Graham Baker, dramatizes the romance of a Hollywood "stand-in" and a banker turned film mogul. The real objective, however, is an "inside" exploration of movieland, and the principal claim for attention is, fortunately, sustained emphasis on satire. The occasionally extreme comic results obtained prevent its being taken any place in any too serious a vein. Even Leslie Howard abandons all dignity and decorum for the play. In this he has the whole-hearted support of Joan Blondell, Humphrey Bogart, Alan Mowbray and a half-dozen others who get all the fun possible out of the narrative. The ribbing of Hollywood by Hollywood is, of course, done good naturedly.

Leslie Howard is the lugubrious, astigmatic human comptometer with cog-wheels who, as an emissary of efficiency, is sent by the Wall Street powers to Hollywood and Sunset Boulevard to salvage Colossal Pictures. He sets about much in the same manner as would be employed for the similar rescue of a steel plant, but finds the movie business comic, ludicrous, pathetically frivolous, dramatic and, at the same time, tragically earnest. His bankers eventually sell the business out from under him, but he engineers a sit-down strike of the plant's 3,000 employees, remakes the picture which would have ruined the company, and saves the project for the workers and stockholders. Melodramatic-sounding, it is true, but the procedure is heavily cushioned with comedy.

Casta Diva

CINE STUDIOS' cinematic interpretation of the dramatic life and romance of Vincenzo Bellini, noted Italian composer, is well rounded out with good music interspersing understandable action in the fashion of historical romance, understandable despite the complete absence of English dialogue and sub-title explanation. Europe's highly accomplished motion picture and operatic star, Marta Eggerth, gives a splendid performance in the lead. Sandro Palmieri characterizes Bellini with commendable restraint. Made three years ago in Rome, the general technique in comparison with today, still shows the benefits of the unusual good direction.

JAMES P. CUNNINGHAM.

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Communications

THE PROTESTANT LETTER ON SPAIN

Washington, D. C.

TO the Editor: The most charitable thing that can be said for those who signed the "Open Letter in Reply to the Spanish Hierarchy's Views on the War," is that they cannot have read the pastoral letter itself, as the pastoral letter does not put forward any of the views imputed to the Spanish episcopate by the open letter, with the possible exception of its disapproval of the Spanish Constitution of 1931. The open letter is merely another exemplification of the old debating trick of imputing to your adversary views he has never defended and then demolishing them triumphantly.

Where in the letter of the hierarchy is there any general approval of violence and military insurrection as a means of settling political controversies? I have carefully studied the pastoral letter and can find in it no such approval as those who signed the open letter allege is there. It is true, of course, that the hierarchy does justify the Franco revolt on the ground that revolt against tyranny is justifiable, but in support of its action it is careful to review the tyrannical acts of the Popular Front government and to support its allegation of tyranny with indisputable facts. If revolt against tyranny is never justifiable when that tyranny is exercised by a legitimate government, then the United States should still be a British colony, and the Declaration of Independence is one of the most immoral documents ever written.

The second point made is that the Spanish hierarchy not only rejects the present so-called Popular Front government, but the republic itself and the Constitution of 1931. Where, may I ask, is any rejection of republicanism as such to be found in the pastoral letter? On the contrary, speaking of the establishment of the republic, the episcopate says: "Adapting itself to the tradition of the Church and to the guidance of the Holy See, it [the episcopate] placed itself resolutely on the side of the constituted powers, exerting itself to collaborate with them for the common good." It is true that the bishops criticize the Constitution of 1931, which was based on some of the more extreme and unworkable constitutions adopted by the French during the French Revolution, as opposed to the Spanish spirit and traditions, which is only in accord with the criticisms expressed at the time of its adoption both in Spain and in most other European countries. Subsequent events and especially the civil war in Spain have proven that these criticisms were justified.

It is true that the Spanish bishops stigmatize parliamentarianism as "autocratic," but they are even more severe on dictatorships in spite of the somewhat strained interpretation given to the words, "without roots in the nation." As a matter of fact, and I believe all those acquainted with conditions in Spain will confirm what I say, there has never been a more corrupt form of government than parliamentarianism in Spain, whether under the monarchy or the republic, but it is certain that the bishops had no intention of condemning parliamentarianism in countries to which it is suited. In Spain, on the other hand, parliamentarianism had not meant government by the people but government by local political bosses of the worst type, known as *caciques*. Unfortunately, desirable as parliamentarianism may be in a country with an educated electorate, it only leads to extremes of corruption with an illiterate electorate as those of us who know Spain and Portugal are well aware of.

The fourth point made by the open letter is that the pastoral letter of the Spanish hierarchy condemns in principle democratic institutions, freedom of worship and the separation of Church and State. Where, may I ask, is this condemnation to be found in the pastoral letter? I have looked for it in vain. Freedom of worship existed under the monarchy, as I know of my personal knowledge, though Protestantism is so alien to the Spanish character that it has never taken root there. A Protestant Spaniard is as rare as a white crow, though I believe there were some 35,000 Protestants in Spain under the monarchy.

If democracy means government by the will of a majority, then it would appear that Franco is clearly the choice of the Spanish people for he now holds more than three-fifths of Spain with some 500,000 troops of which only, at the very outside, 60,000 are Italians or Germans. The Germans had to keep an army of approximately the size of Franco's in Belgium during the war because of the hostility of the population and surely, as any soldier can tell you, Franco could not win the battles he has and is winning, if the population in the territory he is occupying was hostile to him. After all, Napoleon's best troops and most proficient marshals, with years of experience in war, were unable to hold their own in Spain because of the hostility of the population in their day.

Finally, if the Valencia government in Spain represents republicanism and not Communism, why did the Latin American governments in the League of Nations vote almost unanimously against the reelection of the Valencia government to the Council of the League of Nations? Surely if the Popular Front government in Spain is representative of republicanism these governments, which are all republics, would not have voted against it.

CAMPBELL TURNER.

DR. HEINRICH BRUENING

Providence, R. I.

TO the Editor: Dr. Heinrich Bruening, former Chancellor of the German Republic and now a member of the faculties of Harvard and Oxford universities, was honored at Brown University at the opening of its fall semester this year with the degree of Doctor of Laws. Thus the great Catholic, characterized by President Henry M. Wriston as a "product of the German universities in their proudest days, scholar and patriot," joins an imposing list of notables, among them Cardinal Mercier, honored by the old Baptist institution for their service to humanity.

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As for the former Chancellor himself, hounded from his native land and in exile since the accession of Hitler to power, he said very little in reply, accepting the degree with thankfulness of heart and speech, but heightening, in his silence toward world affairs, the mystery which has grown about him in these last few years.

If Dr. Bruening said little, however, Dr. Wriston said much, taking the occasion and its proximity in time to the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the signing of the United States Constitution to speak in behalf of democracy. Today, Dr. Wriston said, as it was not many years after its signing, the Constitution is an unfashionable instrument of government, and respect for it is so slender that "an effort is being made to persuade us we must choose between two forms of totalitarianism—Communism upon the one hand and Nazism or Fascism on the other."

Listening gravely was Dr. Bruening, a victim of Nazism, whose own efforts on behalf of democracy in the face of overwhelming difficulty are known to the world and greatly admired on this side of the Atlantic. Yet he said nothing and his silence in that audience of notable men and students, created uneasiness, as if his silence contained forbidding knowledge which he had no desire to impart. An example of what dictatorship can do to those who oppose its path, his silence was eloquent in that gathering and fairly shouted its power more effectively than had he harangued against the fate which overtook him and the nation he served so well.

This silence from the former Chancellor was a bitter silence. No stranger to Brown University, he has visited there more than once and on one occasion has spoken to the student body. And at that lecture the public press was implored not to reveal what he had said. It may be said to the credit of the press that it honored Dr. Bruening's wishes and did not quote him.

Why is he silent? That question interests the entire American intellectual world. On economics, history, world politics, he lectures freely enough to his classes, but without inserting personal bias and without reference to affairs in his homeland. The intellectual world fears that Dr. Bruening's silence is but a forewarning of what will happen to it in the event of dictatorship, and Dr. Bruening stands today in America as a symbol of the necessity for the perpetuation of democratic ideals and untrammeled free speech. Dr. Wriston did not say as much, there was no need to say it, everyone feels it and feeling it is more closely united in the battle for democracy.

America's answer to those who insist that a choice between Communism and Fascism is inevitable must be:

"We will choose neither, for neither is adapted to the genius of this people, neither has behind it the momentum of 500 years of constitutional experience; neither has been tested and tried for the century and a half which has matured and enriched our Constitution; neither sets at the center the individual, his rights, his powers, his growth, his enfranchisement.

"You cannot choose totalitarianism and the Constitution at the same time. There is no compromise, there is no middle ground. Today, twenty years after, the Russian state maintains itself in power only by terrorism which would have made the perpetrators of the French Revolution blush.

"A world of totalitarian states, a world of self-contained states, a world of self-centered states, a world of anarchies, is a world heedless of the rights of individuals. As an example of heedlessness I ask you to look at China and to look at Spain.

"If America resolutely refuses to adopt the totalitarian scheme, or any of its works, the Constitution holds within its own structure the map to show the path of freedom of the world not only from tyranny but from disruption and war."

At the conclusion of his speech, Dr. Wriston briefly eulogized Dr. Bruening and the hood denoting his degree was placed on his shoulders. But Dr. Bruening said little in reply beyond expressing his thanks. Was his spirit in his native homeland where a dictatorship forbids such freedom of speech as Dr. Wriston's, such honors to champions of freedom as Dr. Bruening and his colleagues, such tribute to a liberty-loving Catholic scholar?

STUART D. GOULDING.

RENTING GADGETS

Westport, Conn.

TO the Editor: What is to become of the independent plumber, steamfitter, and electrician, if the public utilities system takes over the installation of electrical appliances? Are we all to become the servants of such groups? According to Mr. McCabe's article, "Renting Gadgets," of September 8, "Even if they use the nearby craftsman under a quantity contract the cost is cut in half." Meaning that another taxpayer in some community will not be able to pay his full share of the general cost of government. We know what the chain stores do for a town; for another example the telephone company in the town I live in has installed the dial phone, putting out of work twenty-five operators, thereby decreasing the tax list.

Another matter I do not agree with Mr. McCabe on, is that installation cost deters many people from buying. I base my opinion on the fact that such costs are almost always included in the sum total, and very rarely is the customer given in detail the different amounts that go to make up the whole. Last but not least, there are a great variety of goods, and many companies that put them out. It would tax a utility system to the limit to supply men who had the individual working knowledge of each; so his statement that "the power company is able to do the installation with their own men for much less," to me seems a bit overconfident.

J. J. HILTON.

Editor's Note: On page 567 *of the last issue of* THE COMMONWEAL, *the Nationalist peseta quoted at* 160 *French francs and the Loyalist at* 42 *francs should be* 1.60 *and* .42.

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Books

Inviolable Persons

The Good Society, by Walter Lippmann. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. $3.00.

FEW IF ANY American writers on political philosophy, and on practical political and social problems, is more deservedly influential than Walter Lippmann. During his whole career both as an author and as a working journalist, the sincerity of his spirit and the clearness of his reasoning have compelled the respectful attention even of those who opposed many of his views. It is now more than twenty-five years ago that he brilliantly took a high place among American wrtiters with his book, "A Preface to Morals." At that time, as he tells us in the remarkable introduction to his new volume, "the general scheme of the human future seemed fairly clear." He "assumed without question that in a régime of personal liberty each nation could, by the increasing exercise of popular sovereignty, create for itself gradually a spaciously planned and intelligently directed social order." Acting upon this, to him, self-evident principle, h promptly wrote another book to proclaim "that we had come to the end of drift and were entering the era of our mastery of the social order."

A Socialist, at that time, of the "gradualist" or "Fabian" type, Mr. Lippmann entered active journalism as one of the editors of and writers for the *New Republic,* later on joining the editorial staff of the New York *World.* Then came the World War—a catastrophe which Mr. Lippmann, as he relates, had considered to be unimaginable, in spite of the warning that such an event might be impending, and if realized might unsettle the foundations of society, which had been given by his own teacher, Graham Wallis. But, as he now candidly confesses, Mr. Lippmann did not then know what were the foundations of the social order. To him, as to most other pre-war liberals, humanity had been finally convinced by the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Industrial Revolution, the Enlightenment, and the doctrine of Progress, that all the basic human problems had been solved.

Nevertheless, the war came. After its fateful course, Mr. Lippmann played his part at Paris, during the treaty-making, to rearrange the shattered structure of the world; and then resumed his work in journalism. For many years, however, as he now most candidly relates, he knew himself to be "writing about critical events with no better guide to their meaning than the hastily improvised generalizations of a rather bewildered man." It would be well indeed if other publicists should emulate Mr. Lippmann's candor, and follow his example in making so thorough an examination of their principles of thought and action as he has done.

This autobiographical character of Mr. Lippmann's new book gives it a special interest, for although Mr. Lippmann's direct testimony concerning his personal efforts to achieve a working philosophy that would impregnably sustain his arguments seeking to overthrow all forms of the collectivist philosophy—whether Communist, Fascist,

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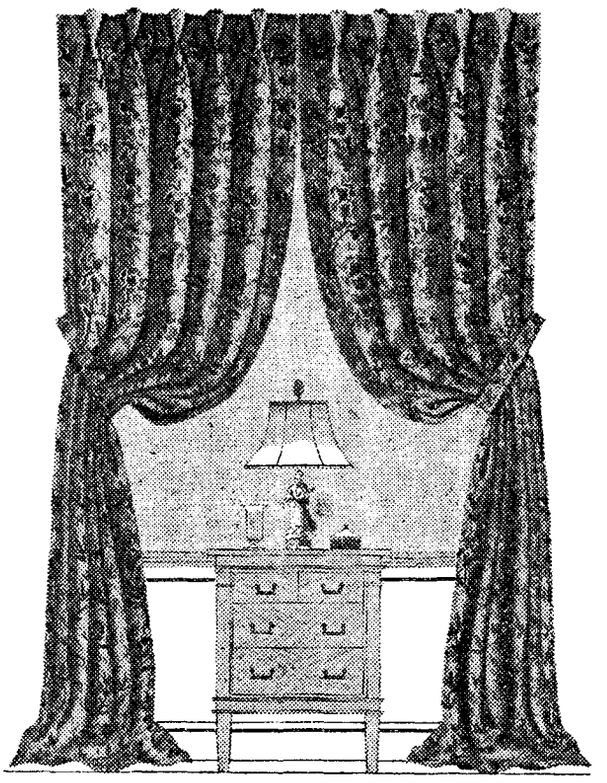

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Nazi, or capitalistic and democratic forms of collectivism—is confined to his introductory remarks, nevertheless the effects of that personal effort dominate the entire book. His invincible repugnance to all the ideas and the works of "authoritarian collectivism," and his passionate adherence to the sort of enlightened Liberalism which he believes will still necessarily defeat authoritarianism throughout the world, began, no doubt, by being largely instinctive, partly unconscious; but in this volume Mr. Lippmann provides himself with a reasonable theory to support and guide his deepest intuitions. It is this quality of personal experience in the high places of a human mind and soul which gives Mr. Lippmann's book, especially in its closing passages, an eloquence which is singularly attractive, while it nowhere degenerates into ranting or mere sermonizing upon sentimental texts. At all times, his thesis remains well within the logical limits of his appeal to the reason of his readers.

There are so many highly important aspects of Mr. Lippmann's book—so many points provocative of study or argument, that only a volume as ample as itself (and an author as competent!) would suffice to deal with his work as a whole. All that the present review is intended to do is to state with the utmost emphasis that it is a thesis of supreme importance. Placing professedly religious writers to one side, the present reviewer cannot recall any other recent American book dealing with our present social problems which penetrates, as this book does, through all the mazes of our economic, political and sociological questions to the innermost depths of truly spiritual values.

It is upon an absolute spiritual foundation that Mr. Lippmann builds his logical case against tyrannies and in favor of human liberties. In this sense, his book is definitely, practically religious. For he has now discovered that the "self-evident truth which makes men invincible" in their age-told struggle for liberty under the rule of the moral law, is the fact that "inalienably they are inviolable persons"; moreover, ultimately the belief in the inviolable value of human personality finds its sole, yet indestructible, support and justification in the truth of the immortality of the human soul.

In discovering a spiritual basis for the defense of human liberty against all forms of materialistic, atheistic philosophies and systems which seek to sustain all forms of human tyranny, all forms of totalitarian collectivist governments and ideologies, Mr. Lippmann in fact rediscovers the cultural supremacy of spiritual values upheld by historic and contemporary Catholicism. As he himself writes: "To the masses of the western world the news that all men are more than things was proclaimed by the Christian gospel and was celebrated in its central mysteries. It proclaimed the news to all men that they were not brute things, to all men without exception, the weak, the outcast, the downtrodden, the enslaved, the utterly dejected. The influence of that gospel has been inexhaustible. It anchored the rights of men in the structure of the universe. It sets these rights apart where they are beyond human interference. Thus the pretensions of despots became heretical. And since that revelation, though many despots have had the blessings of the clergy, no tyranny has possessed a clear title before the tribunal of the human conscience, no slave has had to feel that the hope of freedom was forever foreclosed. For in the recognition that there is in each man a final essence—that is to say, an immortal soul, which only God can judge, a limit was set upon the dominion of men over men. The prerogatives of supremacy were radically undermined. The inviolability of the human person was declared. Toward this conviction men have fought their long ascent out of the morass of barbarism. Upon this rock they have built the rude foundations of the Good Society."

MICHAEL WILLIAMS.

Japan

Forty Years of American Japanese Relations, by Foster Rhea Dulles. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. $3.00.

I DO NOT like this kind of book. It is the kind for which too many colleges give Ph. D. degrees. It is a second-hand sort of thing, neatly and tidily compiled from other men's writings. Not even second-hand, for, outside of the Japanese writers whom he quotes, I do not recognize a single author in Mr. Dulles's bibliography who has true first-hand knowledge of Japan, who speaks or reads Japanese. This book is as unreal as the forty years of diplomacy of which the author writes. It is this method of conducting and writing about international relations in vacuo, divorced from realities and first-hand understanding, which has produced the hostility to Japan and the Japanese everywhere apparent among the average of Americans, and to which the average Japanese—at long last—now heartily responds.

Frankly, I am bored by second-hand authorities, editorial experts and amateur diplomats when men's lives are at stake. And men's lives are at stake now, in our relations with Japan.

I would like to see, from some competent person who was part of American diplomacy during the period described, an analytical study and objective discussion of the following statements:

(1) The Open Door in China is not a "traditional American policy." It is a new one; a personal policy of John Hay. Mr. Secretary of State John Foster covered what might be called our traditional policy in his report on one hundred years of our relations with "the Independent Kingdom" of Hawaii, submitted by President Harrison to the Senate, in connection with an arrangement of our own to violate Hawaii's independence. The confidential correspondence between our State Department, our Ministers at Honolulu, and the Americans who were Royal Ministers (with dual citizenship) in the Hawaiian government were all published at that time in Senate Documents. Three things stand out in that century of relations: our determination to close (not open) "doors" where we had a chance to monopolize trade; our constant, official reference to "Our Plan to dominate the North Pacific" with Hawaii as a center, gradually leaving out the word "North" and emphasiz-

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ing simply "Our Plan to dominate the Pacific"; and our constant and insulting vilification of the Japanese in that diplomatic correspondence from every possible point of view, when Japanese foreign policies were just forming and Japanese statesmen and diplomatists were studying western methods and policies with particular application to their own defense against the aggression of the western world against China. We published that report. The Japanese Foreign Office read it, no doubt with considerable interest, and accepted it as an authentic statement of policy.

(2) We have never had in the State Department any one of sufficient rank to formulate Far Eastern policy who was trained in understanding of Japan. Our Far Eastern experts have always been trained in China.

(3) The State Department has not had a trained diplomatic head in forty years. The department has long been run by rival cliques pro- or anti-British (as a main characteristic) to whom nothing was easier than to sabotage an amateur Secretary of State.

(4) The sources of our antipathy to the Japanese in addition to the fact that we so long took no trouble to know them lie in part: (a) In early American mission work. Chinese could be proselytized. Japanese were refractory. (b) In our trade relations. Chinese were "good traders." Japanese refused to have their trade controlled by foreigners. (c) In our labor relations. During our period of imported and exploited cheap labor (of which we are reaping the harvest today), imported Japanese could no more be man-handled than imported Irish labor. Both races take unkindly to man-handling. Chinese and other coolie labor was docile. (d) The Japanese government and people are theocratic and aristocratic. The military establishment is formally and intentionally placed outside of constitutional provisions. That is intolerable to our present concept of democracy, largely imported from industrial and proletarian Europe. (e) The Japanese have formulated their Asiatic policy on our model of inter-American relations adjusted to their own purposes. We have until recently asserted an undefined but untouchable "Monroe Doctrine" not only for the two continents of America, but expanding into the Atlantic and the Pacific. We have coupled it with an equally undefined and equally untouchable "Manifest Destiny," from our correspondence with France and England over Texas, to the report of Secretary John Foster about Hawaii. (f) In all the correspondence relative to the Kellogg-Briand treaties renouncing war as an instrument of national policy two points are asserted and accepted: national defense is a primary duty of governments; each nation is the sole judge of when the occasion of self-defense arises.

Personally, some of the best friends I have are on both sides of this war, Chinese and Japanese. I deplore the war. I would be glad to see the United States act like a friend to both nations and help toward a true solution. American diplomacy does not have to be and should not be pro- or anti- anyone. It might conceivably be just plain American.

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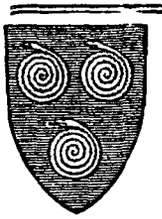
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Next Week

HEADQUARTERS FOR CO-OPS, by Edward S. Skillin, jr., is an intensely interesting visit to the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia. We see by what activities this small but inspired organization extends its influence throughout the very large and sparsely populated and poor maritime region of Canada. Indeed, this influence has spread abroad and is of direct interest on this side of the border as well as above. . . . SCHUSNIGG OF AUSTRIA, by Rene Kraus, is a most persuasive portrait of a political leader whose importance is by no means proportionate to the number of his followers. "Whisperings, suggestions and secrets" are thrust to one side—fascinating as they are—and we look more realistically at the Austrian and his purposes. . . . WHERE ARE OUR CRITICS? by John Gilland Brunini, is undoubtedly a salutary bit of self-criticism to publish, for a magazine running a regular book review section. Mr. Brunini demands the establishment of "'a whole-way house' which a definitely Catholic inspired critical movement could reach if it were properly attempted." He sees in competent Catholic criticism of the whole of contemporary literature a means of developing both Catholic literature and also the reading and effectiveness of that literature. . . . PEACE IN SPAIN EXTENDING ITS BOUNDARIES, by Owen B. McGuire, is sent from Franco territory in the Peninsula. His experiences there have strengthened the viewpoint he expressed in September in THE COMMONWEAL. Referring to the campaign of the Insurgents, he declares: "Whatever were the anarchy and despair before, after the liberation there succeeded immediately peace, order, prosperity, contentment, enthusiasm; and these conditions have endured ever since." The author believes all hope for Spain is centered in the complete victory of the Nationalist cause, and he tells why he believes this and why he thinks this will soon take place. . . . Among the POEMS, REVIEWS, and SHORTER SUBJECTS, will appear some very fine new verses by Eileen Duggan.

Gillian and Dominic

Oleander River, by G. B. Stern. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

THERE is no originality in Miss Stern's theme—the individual remains a mystery even to his confidants—but its truth is given new illumination in her latest novel, and provides material for an interesting story. It is with the character of Gillian, who stands at the apex of an uncommon father-son triangle, that she has had her greatest success. Gillian's stepmother was fond of describing the household she took over as that of a "Sanger's Circus" but Gillian herself was no "constant nymph." At least she was constant in her love of Dominic. The book really belongs to the latter—a man revealed only as others see him—who eventually married the girl with whom his son, Piers, was in love. Gillian was happy in her marriage and her son but the circumstances of Dominic's death left her with no illusions in regard to his love for her—that had always been preempted by Piers's mother.

The setting is almost entirely Provence and the countryside and people there, entertainingly and beautifully described, add very much to the whole.

JOHN GILLAND BRUNINI.

Rosy Generalities

Forty Years of American Life, 1821-1861, by Thomas Low Nichols, M. D. New York: Stackpole Sons. $3.00.

THE first edition of Dr. Nichols's memoirs were published in 1864 in London where he had fled as a pacifist at the outbreak of the Civil War. Written for the English public, who knew little of America, the descriptions of farm life in New Hampshire and our leading cities make pretty trite reading, as the good doctor deals in such rosy generalities that he has a chapter on the pleasures of slavery—for the slave. An enthusiastic traveler, his happiest description is of the Erie Canal boat with its bejeweled captain, its dinner table piled with turkeys and pies as it glided along at five miles an hour, but where conversation on the deck was punctuated by cries of "Bridge" or "Low Bridge" when one either knelt down or lay prone. Very different were the Mississippi packets, "grand palace-like boats" with cut glass chandeliers, marble tables and vases of flowers. Dr. Nichols also traveled in a railway car from Cleveland to Cincinnati which, with the thermometer at 100, was kept cool and clean by a constant current of air, washed clean of dust by being passed through showers of water!

The exuberant doctor's life would have been far more entertaining than his travels as, after trying journalism and food reforms, he married a New Hampshire feminist and jointed in promoting hydropathy, mesmerism, vegetarianism and women's rights. They founded a community, Memnonia Institute, where Antioch College is today but, the next year, they and eight other members joined the Catholic Church. Unfortunately none of these personal events are chronicled in the present book.

EUPHEMIA VAN RENSSELAER WYATT.

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Briefer Mention

The House in Antigua, by Louis Adamic. New York: Harper and Brothers. $3.00. Four centuries of gaiety, tragedy and ruin transpired in this house. Around it the author has constructed the story of Guatemala. The first section of the book deals with long ago. The second, the rebuilding of the house by two people following life's creative force. Louis Adamic here gives us his best.

Letters to His Fiancée, by Léon Bloy; translated by Barbara Wall. New York: Sheed and Ward. $2.00. The passionate cries of this strange genius who so loved the Church that no one was Catholic enough for him, and who was utterly dependent upon warm human sympathy, echo in these extraordinary love letters to an angel of patience. He pours out his sufferings and his aspirations with a violence that will inspire enthusiasm or distaste.

Bed of Neuroses, by Wolcott Gibbs. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. $2.00. This collection of articles from the *New Yorker* provokes laughter of the intellect rather than of the heart. The humor is subtle and dry and its satire, more implied than concrete, is on the whole sanely and entertainingly directed.

The People of God, by Dom Anscar Vonier, O.S.B. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 5/-. The Abbot of Buckfast combats a not uncommon temptation to retire into a sort of spiritual solitude, because of despair of the victory of organized Christianity, by emphasizing our spiritual solidarity and the richness of our life in Christ. The salient features of this theme are briefly but admirably treated.

Saints and Rebels, by Eloise Lownsbery. New York: Longsmans, Green and Company. $2.50. A dozen brief and well-executed biographies of men and women during the past five hundred years, including Saint Vincent de Paul, Don Bosco and Saint Antoninus of Florence, who attained unique distinction in mankind's struggle for freedom, democracy and social justice.

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NEXT FIFTEEN WEEKS

While Wall Street has the jitters, Washington promises new steps toward government economy. The President has called a special session of Congress convening November 15 to enact crop control, wage and hour, anti-trust, regional planning and government reorganization legislation. Japan is consolidating her conquest of North China, while there is considerable agitation toward invoking the Nine-Power Pact, to which the United States is a signatory. What better time to try out THE COMMONWEAL and discover what it will mean to you to keep well posted on the news?

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